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THE
L I F E
O F
MÆCENAS.

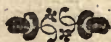
WITH
Critical and Historical NOTES.

Written in FRENCH

By M. *RICHER*,

Translated by

R. *SCHOMBERG*, M. D.



L O N D O N,

Printed for A. MILLAR, against *Catharine*
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MDCCXLVIII.

TO

THE REVEREND

Everard Hutcheson, M. A.

DEAR SIR,

IT is with *Biographers* as it is in general with *Dedicators*, they so bedaub their patron, or the person of whom they give us the life, that there scarce is a feature like, and the picture may serve any other body as well. Two reasons there are, among the many, why *Biography* is so difficult a part of writing: The first reason is, that, when we are advanced several ages from the hero of whom we are to give the history, we are then deprived of many opportunities of knowing particular circumstances and remarkable events, which we must borrow from the fragments and authorities of antiquity, and trust to their testimonies to illustrate the character. The second is, that if the person be living, or at too near a point of view from us; his history writer will too probably fall into an extreme equally detrimental; I mean *flattery* and *falsehood*.

It is surprizing that men should like to be represented in a light, in which they never

studied to place themselves, and are proud of being thought *great* and *good*, *generous* and *brave*, when they never gave themselves a moment's trouble (nay, perhaps never had the *virtue* or *inclination*) to become so!

Poets and *historians* may be compared to *lovers*, who make the very imperfections of their *mistresses* pass for inimitable beauties; but here is the difference, the lover (if I may be allowed the expression) sees with sincerity; the poet and the historian, on the contrary, espy every fault, which *interest*, *fear*, or *prejudice*, make them conceal and daub over with the meanest and most fulsome adulation.

AND yet, after all, the lives of great men, if freed from this rubbish, where *facts* appear in their own proper colours; where *images* are described such as they *are*, and not such as they *ought* to be; where *virtue* and *learning*, *bravery* and *humanity*, are most agreeably blended, I say, where this happens, it helps to entertain, and fills us with a noble emulation; it gives a true idea, not only of what those virtues are, but teaches also the way which leads to them: We see the facility of arriving at true happiness, if we will only be at the pains of following such examples as are set before us, and imitate the actions of men, whose names are esteemed and handed down to posterity, because they acted as men should do, that would render themselves

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10 selves the useful members of civil society.—
 50 Farther,

8 THE lives of great and good men are cer-
 10 tainly the best models for human actions; and
 30 though there are many (such is the corrosive
 50 of their natures) who cannot admire any one
 70 thing in their fellow creature, when living;
 90 will, when once the object is removed, adore
 the character: it is then they will attend the
hero into *camp*, and follow him from one feat
 of valour and intrepidity to another; they
 will accompany him to the *cabinet*, and ad-
 mire his ability, his wisdom, and integrity; they
 will trace him into his private *conversations*, and
 wonder at his politeness and affability.

IT is very extraordinary, that MÆCENAS,
 who was so distinguish'd a patron of learning,
 and so great a protector of learned men, as in
 all ages to have honoured with his name such
 who trod in his paths, should not have
 found gratitude enough among the *Roman* wri-
 ters, who immediately felt his bounty and
 generosity, as to engage them to give us an
 account of him, his education, and other cir-
 cumstances of his life. It is true we find the
 greatest poets of the age celebrate MÆCENAS,
 and mention him with reverence; some few
 prose writers too have done the same; but
 they are neither of them satisfactory and full
 enough; we admire the compliments, but
 we know little or nothing of the person to
 whom they were paid. There is something
 even

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even in the minutest actions of great men, that should not be passed over in silence; how can we account for this shameful neglect?

THE following sheets, which you were pleased to put into my hands, and desire a translation of, will not be unacceptable to the reader; as they contain the most methodical and accurate, as well as truest relation of all such passages as were proper to illustrate the subject, I have hitherto ever seen. I have taken the liberty to add several quotations, which are not in the *French*, to save the reader the trouble of turning over the authors cited in the notes, or in the body of the work.

As I never will follow the steps of modern Dedicators, I chuse rather to address these pages to you, than seemingly to honour them with the pompous name of some great *court lord*, or *minister of state*; preferring my friend, with whom I can deal candidly and familiarly, to a *menial compliment* or a *servile expectation*. I am,

DEAR SIR,

Your most affectionate Friend,

and most obedient Servant,

R. SCHOMBERG.

P R E F A C E.

*T*HOSE who have most contributed towards the happiness and good of human society, deservedly claim a place in the records of History. While on the other hand, the Monsters, whose actions have rendered them odious, and who have been distinguished for their Enormities, ought to lie for ever buried in oblivion. What an affront are the lives of a CALIGULA, a NERO, a COMMODOUS, an HELIOGABALUS, to mankind! Their wickedness and extravagancies have nevertheless been transmitted down to us. They are mentioned, it is true, with indignation, and with a design to deter others; and so far indeed, we may venture to say, History is useful in the description even of these most frightful characters. But the shining and eminent qualities of illustrious men are better adapted to inspire virtue, as they naturally excite us to imitation. They ought to descend to posterity as an example to those who would engage in the same career. What excellent models are the reigns of an AUGUSTUS, a TITUS, a TRAJAN, an ANTONINUS, a MARCUS AURELIUS, to succeeding monarchs? Those princes studied the good of mankind; and their justly esteemed and adored names are consecrated to a happy immorta-

mortality. The glorious commanders, and able ministers, who by their bravery and counsels have contributed to the honour of their prince and the welfare of a people, merit the same rewards: But when, added to these perfections, they have also cherished the arts and sciences, how full is then the measure of their glory! The pleasing knowledge of the Belles Lettres dignified conquerors with the title of HEROES; they temper valour and soften it into humanity; not so were the GENSERICS, the ATTILAS, and all those barbarian kings, who, having no other view than to ravage the world and to govern a slavish race, despised learning, destroyed all the arts and sciences, and permitted ignorance to darken all those places where their tyranny extended.

THE Belles Lettres are of the greatest advantage to princes as well as ministers; they enlighten the mind, enlarge the understanding, and give those who cultivate them a true knowledge of past transactions. No statesmen ever succeeded so well in this as MÆCENAS. To his happy acquaintance with them was owing the prudence and moderation of his regency during his prince's absence, and the wise counsels which he gave him. He fixed no bounds to his love for Letters, the worth of which he so well knew; he shewed them unlimited favours, nor had they ever so great a protector.

P R E F A C E.

in

THE Name of MÆCENAS is known to all; his Actions but to few, and that too very darkly. It is in general assured, that he was the Favourite of AUGUSTUS, and the Patron of the Literati; but that he was a brave soldier and an able minister is not so clearly understood. It is with an intent to make him better known that I have undertaken his history. MEIBOMIUS, a learned German, has done it in Latin; but there are many, who do not understand that language; and those who do, may have observed that he has choaked the life of MÆCENAS with such a number of quotations and endless digressions, that the facts relating to his life are lost in an ocean of profound criticism and learning. Nor has he preserved every where a regular method as to the order of time. I have endeavoured to rectify this. MEIBOMIUS was, I confess, of use to me in my composition of this work. I have corrected, expunged, and added some new observations.

THE life of MÆCENAS being pretty much intermixed with that of AUGUSTUS, I have lightly touched over those passages of the history of that prince, in which his favourite had any share. In short, I have collected all facts with relation to my hero, in such scraps as I could obtain them from ancient authors, facts which cannot but make a better impression when reunited and brought to one point of light, than when dispersed (as they are) and scattered up and down in history.

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I had

P R E F A C E.

I had just finished this work, when I was informed, that a celebrated academicien had pronounced a discourse, entitled, Enquiries concerning the life of MÆCENAS *. My plan is quite different. His discourse is oratorical and academical; I have endeavoured to write a history, and have closely observed chronology. Many authors however have frequently touched upon the same subject with very good success; the ingenious academicien is already assured of it. I can at present only live in hopes to deserve it.

* In the Memoirs of the Academy of inscriptions and belles lettres, tom. 13.

THE
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O F
MÆCENAS.

CAIUS CILNIUS MÆCENAS (*a*), according to HORACE's account, came into the world on the ides (*b*), the 13th day of April; but where or in what year he was born, is hitherto unknown. His family were origi-

(*a*) CAIUS was the proper name of MÆCENAS, CILNIUS that of his family, and MÆCENAS his surname. It was customary among the *Romans* to give the family name to their children the very next day after they were born; the proper name was assumed, when they put on the *Toga virilis*; and the surname distinguished the different branches of the family; this however was often given upon other occasions. Two surnames were sometimes bestowed on one and the same person; the last of which was added on account of some gallant

B. nally

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nally from *Arezzo*, a city in *Etruria*, where the *CILNII* lived in great power and splendor. His father's name was *MENODORUS*, and descended in the male line from *ELBIUS*

action, or victory, as *AFRICANUS*, *ASIATICUS*, &c. *VARRO*, Book vii. says *MÆCENAS* took his name from some place; and it is conjectured that this was a burrough in *Etruria*, at some distance from the sea, of which *PLINY*, Book xiv. chap. 6. making mention of the best *Italian* wines, gives us an account, in *Mediterraneo, Cæsennatia, ac Mæcenatiana*. Many *Romans* before our *MÆCENAS* were of the name. *SILIUS ITALICUS*, Book x. y 39, & seq. speaks of the oldest of them, who was killed at the battle of *Cannæ*, the year of *Rome* 538, and was of the same family with our *MÆCENAS*.

*Oppetis, & Tyrio super inguina fixe veruto
Mæcenas, cui Mæonia venerabile terra,
Et sceptris olim celebratum nomen Hetruscis.*

CICERO in his oration for *CLUENTIUS* mentions a *C. MÆCENAS*, a *Roman* knight, with great respect and deference, for having nobly opposed *LIVIVS DRUSUS*, a tribune of the people, in the year of *Rome* 663.

(b) *THE* ides were the 15th of the months of *March*, *May*, *July*, and *October*, and the 13th of the rest. The same style and method is observed to this day at the chancery at *Rome*. *JULIVS SCALIGER* says, that *MÆCENAS* was born on the feast of *FLORA*. But he is mistaken; for the *Floran* games were celebrated on the 28th of *April* only. *HORACE* kept the birthday of *MÆCENAS* constantly every year. He invites *PHILLIS*,

*Ut tamen noris, quibus advoceris
Gaudiis: idus tibi sunt agenda;
Qui dies mensem Veneris marinæ,
Findit Aprilem.*

VOLTURY

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VOLTURRENUS (c), the last king of that country, who sprung from PORSENNA the protector of the Tarquins. ELBIUS was slain in a battle against the Romans, on the banks of the lake of

*Jure solennis mihi, sanctiorque
Pæne natali proprio: quod ex hac
Luce Mæcenæ meus affluentes
Ordinat annos.*

HOR. B. iv. Ode xi.

But why this busy festal care?
This invitation to the fair?
This day the smiling month divides,
O'er which the sea-born queen presides;
Sacred to me, and due to mirth,
As the glad hour that gave me birth:
For when this happy morn appears,
MÆCENAS counts a length of years
To roll in bright succession round,
With ev'ry joy and blessing crown'd. FRANCIS.

(c) THE poets and historians of antiquity sufficiently attest the illustrious descent of MÆCENAS:

Mæcenæ, atavis edite regibus.

HOR. B. i. Ode i.

Tyrrhena regum progenies.

Id. B. iii. Ode xxix.

Mæcenæ eques Etrusco de sanguine regum.

Propert. B. iii. Eleg. vii.

Mæcenæ atavis regibus ortus eques.

Martial. B. xii. Epig. iv.

Tunc urbis custodiis præpositus C. Mæcenæ, equestri, sed splendido genere natus, says VELLEIUS PATERCULUS. A fragment of a letter from AUGUSTUS to his favourite, mentioned by MACROBIUS, B. ii. Sat. chap. 4. is a

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Bassanello (*d*), in the year of Rome 444. This defeat ruined the *Tuscan* interest; and TURRENUS, the son of ELBIUS, thereupon surrendered his metropolis to the *Romans*. He preserved nevertheless the customs and manners of his country, and even refused to learn the language of his conquerors. In this he was followed by his descendents down to CECINNA VOLTURRENUS chief of the *Augurs*, his great grandson, who learnt the *Latin*. MENIPPUS was the son of this CECINNA, and father of MENODORUS, who, according to the opinion of some people, was engaged with JULIUS CÆSAR against POMPEY.

farther confirmation. *Vale, meligentium, melcule, ebur ex Etruria, laser Aretinum, adamas supernas, Tyberinum margaritum, Cilniorum finaragde, jaspi figulorum, berylle Porfenæ, &c.* This insinuates moreover, that MÆCENAS was originally from *Arezzo*, and descended from the CILNII. DACIER and other learned Commentators disallow the royal origin of MÆCENAS, and say, to support their argument, that the word *reges* is sometimes taken for men in power, and of great fortune. But this assertion carries no weight with it. They should have proved that the authors now cited, made use of *reges* in that sense. How will they reconcile this to the passage in SILIUS ITALICUS,

Et sceptris olim celebratum nomen Etruscis.

Doth not this verse plainly imply that the ancestors of MÆCENAS, whom he is celebrating, were kings of *Etruria*?

(*d*) ELBIUS was overcome by the *Romans ad Vadimonis lacum*. This, according to LEANDER ALBERTI's *De*
From

From him descended MÆCENAS, who on the mother's side was not less illustrious, both his grandfathers having commanded the *Roman* legions (e). His ancestors settling in *Rome*, were admitted into the *Equestrian Order*; a title which MÆCENAS contentedly enjoyed while he lived.

ALTHOUGH we have no particulars relating to his education, it is not in the least to be doubted, but that great care was taken from his very infancy, it should be answerable to his birth and quality; since he is described, at the age of manhood, as a

script. Italiae, is the lake of *Bassanello*, near the city of that name in the *Pope's* territories, or, as FABRICIUS thinks, the lake of *Viterbo*.

(e) THE Romans had two sorts of legions, the great and small. The great were composed of six thousand foot, and seven hundred twenty six horse; the small often consisted of no more than two thousand men. CICERO, *ad Atticum*, B. V. Epist. xv. calls these *exiles*: Et cum exercitum noster amicus habeat, tantum me nomen habere duarum legionum exilium. — The ancestors of MÆCENAS commanded the great legions:

Non, quia, Mæcenas, Lydorum quicquid Etruscos
Incoluit sineis, nemo generosior est te;
Nec, quod avus tibi sit maternus atque paternus,
Olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarint.

HOR. Sat. B. ii. S. vi.

Though, since the *Lydians* fill'd the *Tuscan* coasts,
No richer blood than yours, *Etruria* boasts;
Though your great ancestors could armies lead,
You don't, as many do, with scorn upbraid
The man of birth unknown.

FRANCIS.

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person perfectly well acquainted with the *Greek* and *Roman* languages (*f*); and his mind also at the same time enriched with every other branch of polite literature, which he could not have found leisure to have acquired during the troubles of civil wars, on account of his public employments. To the study of the languages he joined that of philosophy, and was particularly attached to the *Epicureans* (*g*), who were then in great vogue,

(*f*) DOCTE sermones utriusque linguæ, says HORACE to MÆCENAS. The *Romans* studied both the *Latin* and *Greek*. For though the *Latin* was their mother tongue, they nevertheless applied themselves very closely to it, in order to write and speak it correctly. CICERO advises his son MARCUS, then at *Athens*, to join the study of *Latin* authors to those of the *Greek*, as he himself had done: Ut ipse ad meam utilitatem semper cum Græcis Latina conjunxi: neque id in philosophiâ solum, sed etiam in dicendi exercitatione feci: idem tibi censeo faciendum, ut par sis in utriusque orationis facultate. *De offic.* B. i. Chap. i.

(*g*) EPICURUS placed sovereign happiness in voluptuousness, but in such a one as was attended with prudence, and becoming the wise man. SENECA, who was one of his greatest adversaries, refuses him not this piece of justice. A body devoid of pain, and a soul without trouble, were the two chief points on which EPICURUS fixed his true happiness. But his pretended followers misapplied the word *voluptuousness*: Hoc est, says SENECA *De vitâ beatâ*, Chap. 13. — cur ista voluptatis laudatio perniciofa sit, quia honesta præcepta intra latent: quod corrumpit, apparet. In ea quidem ipse sententia sum (invitis hoc vestris popularibus dicam) sancta Epicurum & recta præcipere, & si propius accesseris, tristitia: Voluptas enim illa ad parvum & exile revo-

both

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both because there were many persons of the first rank and distinction, who countenanced and composed that sect, as that they had about that time published several excellent and valuable writings. He expressed a great fondness for rhetorick and poetry, and even took a particular delight in diverting *himself* with the muses. His love for *letters* made him not unmindful of his military exercises (*b*), a testimony whereof is given him by a writer of his own time, and which will be confirmed hereafter in the history of his life; He undoubtedly had received the same education which he recommended OCTAVIUS to bestow on the young *Roman* nobility, as we shall observe in its place.

WE know nothing of him during his younger days; he never appeared with any lustre till after the death of the great JULIUS; when OCTAVIUS formed the vast design of grasping the empire of the *Roman commonwealth*. JULIUS,

catur; & quam nos virtuti legem dicimus, eam ille dicit voluptati. — It is therefore unjust, says our Stoic, that poor EPICURUS should be so run down — Itaque non dico quod plerique nostrorum, sectam Epicuri flagitiorum magistratam esse; sed illud dico, Male audit, infamis est, & immerito. *Ibid.*

(*b*) PEDONTIUS in his *Epicedium*, Eleg. i. plainly says MÆCENAS went through his military exercises:

Pallade cum doctâ Phæbus donaverat artes:
Tu decus & laudes hujus & ejus et æs.
accord-

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according to the *Roman* custom (i), had sent OCTAVIUS, his great nephew, a young man of an uncommon genius, to study in *Greece*. He lived at *Apollonia* (k), where AGRIPPA then happened to reside. It is conjectured that MÆCENAS contracted his friendship with these two illustrious *Romans* during his stay there: they became so intimately familiar, that their friendship ended only with their lives. OCTAVIUS placed such a confidence in his two friends, that he did nothing without consulting them; and they, in return, never gave him any advice, but what tended to advance his glory or his interest. MÆCENAS however was the greater favourite of the two; he was entrusted with all his secrets; a confidence which he well deserved for his *attachment, fidelity,* and *discretion*.

Y. of R. 710. JULIUS CÆSAR having been murdered in the senate house, young OCTAVIUS returned to *Rome* from *Apollonia* to succeed him, as he had been adopted and constituted his heir. He publicly assumed the title of CÆSAR, and resolved to revenge the death of JULIUS. It was then he profited by the counsels of MÆCENAS, and that the

(i) ET pacatis bellis civilibus ad erudiendum liberis disciplinis singularis indolem juvenis, Apollonium in studia miserat—VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, B. ii. Chap. 59.

(k) THERE were many cities called *Apollonia*. This we are now speaking of was a *Corinthian* colony, situated great

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great talents of this favourite minister appeared so conspicuous. He gave the first proofs of his courage in the war the senate carried on against M. ANTONY, who was aiming at sovereignty, and besieging *Modena*, in which DECIMUS BRUTUS, one of the murderers of CÆSAR, then was. The Consuls HIRTIUS and PANSA commanded the army of the republic; and young OCTAVIUS, proprætor, at the head of his father's veteran troops, who were entirely attached to him, artfully dissembling his resentment against the conspirators, joined the consuls to oppose ANTONY, whose power he became jealous of. The battle of *Modena* lasted two whole days. ANTONY lost it; HIRTIUS was slain in the field; and PANSA expired a few days after, of the wounds he had there received. MÆCENAS was present at this terrible action; he was never from OCTAVIUS's side, and by his counsels and bravery greatly contributed to the happy success of his prince's arms (1).

ted on the western side of *Macedonia*, at the mouth of the river *Poline*; præmissus Apolloniam studiis vacavit, says SÆTONIUS *De vit. Octav. Cæsar. Chap. 8.*

(1) PROPERTIUS, B. ii. Eleg. i. assures us that MÆCENAS was at the siege of *Modena*, in the *Macedonian* and *Perusian* wars, the naval fight against the younger POMPEY, and at the battle of *Actium*:

Quod mihi si tantum, Mæcenas, fata dedissent,

Ut possem heroas ducere in arma manus,

Bellæque resque tui memorarem Cæsaris; & tu

Cæsare sub magna cura secunda fores.

By the death of the two consuls, OCTAVIUS became commander in chief of both armies. It was then in spite of his years he aspired to the first rank in the commonwealth, and, flushed with his power and victory, presumed to ask the consular dignity. The senate, who dreaded the too great power of this young ambitious man, refused him. OCTAVIUS, to be revenged for this affront, reconciled himself to ANTONY, and together with him and LEPIDUS formed that so well known odious alliance, the TRIUMVIRATE. They had an interview at an island of the *Panara*, near *Modena*: They were alone; neither did OCTAVIUS advise with MÆCENAS, when he subscribed

711.
*Nam quoties Mutinam, aut civilia busta Philippis,
 Aut canerem Siculæ classica bella fugæ,
 Eversosque focos antiquæ gentis Etruscæ,
 Et Ptolemææ littora capta Phari,
 Aut regum auratis circumdata colla catenis,
 Actiaque in sacrâ currere rostra viâ,
 Te mea Musa illis semper contexerit armis,
 Et sumpta & posita pace fidele caput.*

The seventh line alludes to the sacking of *Perusia*, a city of ancient *Etruria*, whither MÆCENAS accompanied his master — the eighth line seems to insinuate that he was also with OCTAVIUS at the conquest of *Egypt*, though VELLEIUS expressly says that MÆCENAS was prefect of *Rome* during those last wars — Dum ultimam bello Actiaco, Alexandrinoque Cæsar imponit manum, — tunc urbis custodiis præpositus C. MÆCENAS, &c. — and stifled the conspiracy of young LEPIDUS.

that

that horrid proscription, by which *Rome* was robbed of her best citizens.

ANTONY and OCTAVIUS leaving LEPIDUS Y. of R. at *Rome*, marched against BRUTUS and CASSIUS, the chief conspirators. The two armies met near *Philippi*, a city of *Macedonia*; and gave each other two battles, which were very desperate and uncertain in their events, till fortune determined in favour of the TRIUMVIRATE; and the two great and last defenders of the *Roman* liberty killed themselves, that they might not fall into the hands of the conquerors. MÆCENAS greatly signalized himself in these two battles (m); and he, who in peace was marked out for his luxury and effeminacy, appeared in the fields of *Philippi* all covered over with dust, and terrible to his enemies.

HORACE, who in his younger years bore arms, was in the republican army, and a tribune under BRUTUS and CASSIUS (n). He owns himself

(m) PEDONIUS, in his *Epicedium*, describes the valour of MÆCENAS in the fields of *Philippi*:

*Pulvere in Æmathio fortem videre Philippi;
Quam nunc ille tener, tam gravis hostis erat.*

(n) IT is plain from several passages in HORACE, that he was a tribune in the army of BRUTUS and CASSIUS, and lost all his fortune, which obliged him to turn poet.

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to have lost, on that fatal day, both his honour and estate. Reduced to poverty, he found himself under a necessity to commence poet; a poor shift against want and indigence; it succeeded however happily with this celebrated wit, through the favour of MÆCENAS.

*Nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum:
Quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum,
Nunc, quia sim tibi, Mæcenas, conviector; at olim
Quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.*

HOR. B. i. Sat. vi.

As for myself; a freeman's son confess;
A freeman's son, the publick scorn and jest,
That now with you I joy the social hour;
That once a Roman legion own'd my power.

FRANCIS.

*Unde simul primum me demisere Philippi,
Decisis humilem pennis, inopemque paterni
Et laris, & fundi: paupertas impulit audax,
Ut versus facerem.*

HOR. B. ii. Epist. ii.

Dread Philippi's field
First clipt my wings, and taught my pride to yield,
My fortune ruin'd, blasted all my views,
Bold Hunger edg'd, and Want inspir'd my Muse.

FRANCIS.

Poetry in the *Augustan* age was not only more profitable, but honourable than in our days,

*Quis tibi Mæcenas? quis nunc erit aut Proculus?
Tunc par ingenio pretium.*

JUVENAL. Sat vii.

Though HORACE was under a necessity of writing for bread, we find nothing of his that has the least air of

ALTHOUGH

ALTHOUGH VIRGIL had not taken up arms against the TRIUMVIRATE, he was dispossessed of his paternal estate, which their soldiers shared at the fields of *Cremona* and *Mantua* (o). The poet,

carelessness and neglect; either because he very prudently suppressed all his juvenile productions, or that his taste and genius would not permit him to write but in the most beautiful and finished goût. It is likely however that he would not have succeeded so well but for the great favour of MÆCENAS:

Neque enim cantare sub antro

Pierio, thyrsumve potest contingere sana

Paupertas, atque æris inops, quo nocte dieque

Corpus eget. Satur est, cum dicit Horatius, ohe!

JUVENAL. Sat.vii.

Must be secure from want, if not abound.

Unvex'd with thought of wants which may betide,

Or for to-morrow's dinner to provide.

HORACE ne'er wrote but with a rosy cheek,

His belly pamper'd, and his sides were sleek.

CHAR. DRYDEN.

SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS in his preface to the Panegyric of MAJORIANUS, insinuates that we owe the works of HORACE to the pardon he obtained through MÆCENAS:

Et tibi, Flacce, acies Bruti Cassique secuto,

Carminis est autor, qui fuit et veniæ.

(o)

L. Quo te, Mæri, pedas? an, quo via ducit, in urbem?

M. O Lycida, vivi pervenimus, advena nostri,

Quod numquam veriti sumus, ut possessor agelli

Diceret: Hæc mea sunt; veteres migrate coloni.

deprived

The Life of MÆCENAS.

deprived of his patrimony by the centurion ARIUS, made his application to POLLIO, in order to have it restored. This illustrious Roman recommended him to MÆCENAS; who not only favoured him with his protection, but even introduced him to OCTAVIUS, from whom he received all desired satisfaction. VIRGIL became an intimate of MÆCENAS; we are not only indebted to the zeal and encouragement of this patron of the *Muses*, for the *Georgics*, which VIRGIL dedicated to *Him* from a principle of gratitude, but for the *Æneids* also (p). Thus the favours of the Great inspire and encourage genius and lite-

*Nunc victi, tristes, quoniam fors omnia versat,
Hos illi (quod nec bene vertat) mittimus hædos.*

VIRG. Bucolic. xi.

L. Ho, MOERIS! whither on thy way so fast?
This leads to town.

M. O LYCIDAS, at last
The time is come I never thought to see,
(Strange revolution for my farm and me)
When the grim captain in a surly tone,
Cries out, Pack up, ye rascals, and be gone.
Kick'd out, we set the best face on't we cou'd,
And these two kids t'appease his angry mood
I bear, of which the Furies give him good.

DRYDEN.

(p) MARTIAL celebrates the generosity of MÆCENAS, and the protection with which he favoured VIRGIL, and gave rise to the *Æneids*:

*Ingenium sacri miraris abesse Maronis,
Nec quemquam tantâ bella sonare tubâ.*

ature;

ture, and pave the way for excellent and immortal writings (q).

MÆCENAS very warmly espoused the cause Y. of R.
and interests of men of letters: a fresh opportunity offered soon after: VIRGIL and VARIUS having mentioned HORACE to him, he expressed a desire to see him. Let us attend the 713.

Sint Mæcenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones,

Virgiliumque tibi vel tua rura dabunt.

Jugera perdididerat miseræ vicina Cremonæ;

Flebat & abductas Tityrus æger oves.

Risit Thuscus eques, paupertatemque malignam

Reppulit, & celeri jussit abire fugâ.

Accipe divitias, & vatum maximus esto:

Tu licet & nostrum, dixit, Alexin ames.

Excidit attonito pinguis Galatea poetæ,

Thestylis & rubras messibus usta genas:

Protinus Italiam concepit, & Arma virumque,

Qui modo vix Culicem flevit ore rudi.

MARTIAL. B. viii. Epig. lvi.

This epigram informs us that MÆCENAS made VIRGIL a present also of young ALEXIS, who handed drink to him, and is honoured by the poet in his second eclogue. SERVIUS however in his comment upon this eclogue, and APULEIUS in *Apol.* say it was POLLIO made VIRGIL this present. SERVIUS farther observes, VIRGIL was fond of young people, but adds, that it was not with any indecent view; and this is agreeable to the character of prudence, for which he was always so remarkable.

(q) THE protection given to the Literati by men in power, has always retorted honour upon themselves.
poet

The Life of MÆCENAS.

poet ingeniously representing himself in this first rencontre :

Felicem dicere non hoc

Me possum, casu quod te sortitus amicum.

Nulla etenim tibi me fors obtulit : optimus olim

Virgilius, post hunc Varius, dixere quid essem.

Ut veni coram, singultim pauca locutus,

(Infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari)

Non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum

Me Satureiano veltari rura caballo;

Sed, quod eram, narro. Respondes (ut tuus est mos)

Pauca. Abeo; et revocas nono post mense, jubef-
que

Esse in amicorum numero : magnum hoc ego duco,

Quod placui tibi, qui turpi secernis honestum,

Non patre præclaro, sed vita et pectore puro.

HOR. L. i. Sat. 6.

What names have been more celebrated than those of AUGUSTUS and MÆCENAS? The gratitude of poets has often outrun received favours — I shall take the liberty upon this occasion to quote a few lines from SIBONIUS APOLLINARIS. He is speaking of OCTAVIUS's generosity in restoring VIRGIL to his patrimony, and the eclogue the poet wrote in acknowledgment,

Sed rus concessum dum largo in principe laudat,

Cælum pro terris rustica musa dedit.

Nec fuit inferius Phœbeia dona referre:

Fecerat hic dominum, fecit & ille Deum.

Præf. Paneg. major.

Nor yet to Chance this happiness I owe;
 Friendship like yours she had not to bestow.
 My best-lov'd VIRGIL first, then VARIUS told,
 Among my friends what character I hold:
 When introduc'd, in few and fault'ring words,
 (Such as an *infant modesty* affords)
 I did not tell you my descent was great,
 Or that I wander'd round my country-seat
 On a proud steed, in richer pastures bred:
 But what I really was, I frankly said.
 Short was your answer in your usual strain;
 I take my leave, nor wait on you again,
 Till, nine months past, engag'd and bid to hold
 A place among your nearer friends enroll'd:
 An honour this, methinks, of nobler kind,
 That, innocent of heart, and pure of mind,
 Though with no titled birth, I gain'd his love,
 Whose judgment can discern: whose choice ap-
 prove.

FRANCIS.

HORACE says nothing of his pardon for having
 served with BRUTUS (*r*), but this we may easily

(*r*) AN anonymous writer of an abridgement of the
 Life of HORACE, pretends that he was made a prisoner
 at the action of *Philippi*, and was not enlarged till
 some long time after: two facts, which in my opinion
 are not founded in truth. As to the first, HORACE,
 who concealed no circumstance that had ever happened
 to him, and even confesses he threw down his shield,
Celerem fugam sensi, relictâ non bene parmula: HO-
 RACE, I say, makes no mention of his imprisonment.

C

suppose

suppose from his great friendship and intimacy with MÆCENAS; whose friends soon became the favourites of OCTAVIUS: this was the fate of HORACE; his wit and abilities endear'd him to the PRINCE, as they before had done to the FAVOURITE.

AFTER the battle of *Philippi* ANTONY went into the East, where he fell in love with CLEOPATRA. While he was in *Egypt* with his mistress,

It is, secondly, an absolute mistake to advance that his pardon was long deferred; since he himself describes the voyage in which he accompanied MÆCENAS and COCCEIUS the very year after that battle, who were then going to *Brundisium* to reconcile the differences between ANTONY and OCTAVIUS:

Egressum magna me accepit Aricia Româ.

*Millia tum pransi tria repimus, atque subimus
Impositum saxi late candentibus Anxur.*

*Huc venturus erat Mæcenas optimus, atque
Cocceius, missi magnis de rebus uterque
Legati, aversos soliti componere amicos.*

HOR. B. i. Sat. v.

Leaving imperial Rome, I took my way
To poor *Aricia*,

then after dinner creep
Three tedious miles, and climb the rocky steep,
Whence *Anxur* shines. MÆCENAS was to meet
COCCEIUS here, to settle things of weight;
For they had oft in embassy been join'd,
And reconcil'd the masters of mankind. FRANCIS.

It is therefore with great propriety I have fixed the acquaintance of MÆCENAS with HORACE before the

FULVIA his wife, piqued at OCTAVIUS for having repudiated her daughter, took up arms in *Italy*; Y. of R. and engaged LUCIUS ANTONY, her husband's brother, to her assistance. OCTAVIUS besieged them in *Perusia*, and after a long siege obliged them to surrender. MÆCENAS was present at the siege, and upon that occasion gave fresh proofs of his courage. 713.

OCTAVIUS at length made preparations to carry on a war against the younger POMPEY, who was at sea commanding the fleet: but well apprized of his strength, and that he was aiming at an alliance with M. ANTONY, he feared to have them both to deal with. To ward against that stroke, he, by the interposition of MÆCENAS, contracted and married (tho' contrary

voyage to *Brundisium*, and soon after VIRGIL (for it was he who first spoke of HORACE to him) had been recommended to this favourite minister. Noble minds are strangers to envy. VIRGIL, far from being jealous of the great poets his contemporaries, was even content to share the favours of MÆCENAS along with them. There were few of so generous a disposition. We have one example, that of NEMESIUS towards CALPURNIUS, both pastoral poets in the reign of CARUS and his sons. NEMESIUS rose to great preferments and was in high favour with his emperor: "His success, says MAIRAULT an elegant translator of these poets, did not hinder him from interesting himself for CALPURNIUS, who had talents equal to his own, though not attended with the same good fortune; for poor CALPURNIUS was reduced to the greatest misery. —He was both his rival and benefactor."—

to his inclination) (s) SCRIBONIA, sister of SCRIBONIUS LIBO, POMPEY's father-in-law, thereby to ensure himself a good understanding with POMPEY, in case he should stand in need of it (t): a remarkable instance of the policy of this prince; whose only dominant passions were interest and ambition.

THE misunderstandings between ANTONY and OCTAVIUS broke out again. Three illustrious Romans (u), POLLIO, MÆCENAS, and CECILIUS undertook to reconcile them, and were named for that purpose by the Triumvirate. The choice could not have fallen upon persons of bet-

(s) OCTAVIUS divorced SCRIBONIA a year after his marriage, on the very day she was brought to bed of JULIA. He had married her out of policy, and parted with her on pretence that she had been imprudent in her conduct; but it was in fact because he had no farther occasion for POMPEY's alliance: or, as SÜETONIUS says, because she could not bear the criminal conversation that passed between her husband and LIVIA; & dimissam Scriboniam, quia liberius doluisset nimiam potentiam pellicis, &c. c. 69. *Life of Augustus.*

(t) Ἐπέσελλε Μαικῆνα σιωθέδῃ Σκριβωνία τῇ Λίβωνος ἀδελφῇ τῇ κηδύνῳ Πομπηῶ, ἵν' ἔχοι καὶ τήνδε ἀφορμὴν εἰς ἀγρεύσεις εἰ δεήσειε. APPIAN.

(u) Ὡν ὁ στρατός ὁ τῷ Καίσαρι αἰσθανόμενοι, πρέσβεις εἶλοντο. τὴν αὐτὴν εἰς ἀμφοτέρους κ. τ. λ. Κοκκήιον μὲν ὡς κοινὸν ἀμφοῖν, ἐν δὲ ἑστῶτι Ἀντώνιον Πολλίωνα, καὶ Μαικηναν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος, &c. APP. *De bell. civil.* l. v.

ter capacities, understandings, and abilities. They employed every method they could think of to stifle these growing animosities, and they succeeded to their wish. *Brundisium* was the place ^{Y. of R.} of negotiation; and, in order to give it greater ^{713.} strength and weight, it was agreed upon by all the parties, that an alliance should be concluded between the two rivals. OCTAVIA, the sister of OCTAVIUS, had just about that time lost her husband MARCELLUS; she was to marry ANTONY, to which her brother readily consented. The troops of OCTAVIUS and ANTONY, by this means become allies in the field, expressed their satisfaction; and their loud repeated acclamations and rejoicings continued a whole day and a night. VIRGIL, HORACE, VARIUS, HELIODORUS, and several other Literati accompanied MÆCENAS in this expedition to *Brundisium*. The important affairs with which this able negociator was charged, were no obstacles to his natural and usual gaiety: His employments, no ways superior to his genius, never cooled his attention for the Muses, or diverted him from his conversation and intercourses with men of letters. HORACE has given a very humorous description of this voyage (*).

(*) WE have already taken notice of HORACE's journey from *Rome* to *Brundisium*, Note (r). APPIAN in Book v. says MÆCENAS was nominated by OCTAVIUS; POLLIO by ANTONY, and COCCEIUS by

THUS OCTAVIUS and ANTONY became friends again, but it was merely such as the great are used to contract, ever ready to sacrifice their friendship to the least appearances of interest. This soon happened. Their good understanding was but of little duration: could it be otherwise with two competitors for sovereign power? ANTONY a few years after, re-exasperated against OCTAVIUS on some reports that had been made him, sailed towards *Italy* with three hundred ships. OCTAVIUS's affairs were in a deplorable situation; he was waging a disadvantageous war against POMPEY the younger, and was still in greater awe of ANTONY (y). In this perilous junc-

both, to accommodate their differences, but speaks not a word of FONTEIUS CAPITO. COCCEIUS, great grand-father of the emperor NERVA, was an eminent lawyer, and equally the friend of OCTAVIUS and ANTONY.

(y) Ὡν ὁ στρατός ὁ τῷ Καίσαρι αἰσθανόμενοι, πρέσβεις εἶλοντο τὰς αὐτὰς ἐς ἀμφοτέρους, οἱ τὰ μὲν ἐγκλήματα αὐτῶν ἐπέχον, ὡς ἔκριναι σφίσι, ἀλλὰ θάλατταν μόνον ἤρημύοι, σφίσι δ' αὐτοῖς προσελόμενοι, Κορκυῖον μὲν ὡς κοινὸν ἀμφοῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀσιανῶν Πολλίωνα, καὶ Μακρήναν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρι, ἔγνωσαν Καίσαρι καὶ Ἀσιανῶι πρὸς ἀλλήλοισι ἀμνηστῆν εἶναι τῶν γιγνόντων, καὶ φιλίαν ἐς τὸ μέλλον. ὑπογυῶς δὲ Μαρκελλὸς τελευτᾷ, ὃς τὴν ἀδελφὴν Καίσαρι εἶχεν Οὐλατίαν, ἐδικαίειν οἱ θάλατταν καὶ τὴν Οὐλατίαν Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν Καίσαρι εἰγυῆσαι, καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα ἐνηγύα, καὶ

ture

ture he sent MÆCENAS to him, to endeavour, by soft means, to remove any new grievances, which might have occasioned this fresh rupture between them. Had this negotiation miscarried, OCTAVIUS determined to have quitted his maritime enterprize, and to have collected his whole force by land; but he had trusted his interests in very good hands; the eloquent and active minister knew the art of persuasion: he soon freed OCTAVIUS of his disquietude, by declaring ANTONY would join him against POMPEY.

PLUTARCH relates the story differently: ANTONY, says he, not being received at *Brundisium*, arrived with his fleet in the harbour of *Tarentum*. OCTAVIA, who accompanied him in this voyage, begged she might have leave to pay a visit to her brother, which was granted. She met OCTAVIUS on the way, and (seconded by MÆCENAS and AGRIPPA) very pathetically complained of her unhappy situation, in case a breach should happen between her husband and her brother. OCTAVIUS, softened by his sister's tears, and his friends persuasions, went to *Tarentum*, and there concluded a treaty with ANTONY as little lasting as the rest had been.

Y. of R.
716.

ἡσυχάζοντο ἀλλήλους, καὶ βοαὶ ἄλλῃ τῇ στρατῷ καὶ διφρημίας
πρὸς ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἀπαυσοὶ δι' ὅλης τε τῆς ἡμέρας
καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πάσαν. APP. l. v. Civil. p. 367.

OCTAVIUS, disengaged from his fears, and strengthened by the alliance of ANTONY and LEPIDUS, renewed the war with POMPEY, and would have invaded *Sicily*: but he was disappointed in his designs by a violent tempest, which put his fleet into great disorder. MÆCENAS had his share of these dangers; and OCTAVIUS fearing the news of this disappointment, together with the scarcity of provisions, might stir up new commotions at *Rome*, where POMPEY's cause seemed to be most favoured, because of his father's character, sent his favourite thither, to keep them to their duty.

Y. of R. 717. OCTAVIUS, having refitted his fleet the year after, returned into *Sicily*, with AGRIPPA and MÆCENAS. AGRIPPA overcame DEMOCHARES, who commanded a separate body of troops for POMPEY; POMPEY beat OCTAVIUS. *Rome* was at this time in some commotion; some turbulent spirits were plotting new mischiefs. OCTAVIUS sent MÆCENAS thither, in order to calm those troubles, and punish the ringleaders, about whom history leaves us in the dark. As soon as he had succeeded in his commission, MÆCENAS return'd

Y of R. 718. to the fleet, and was present at the last battle which POMPEY gave OCTAVIUS near the promontory of *Pelorus*. The victory of that day was owing to the valour and address of AGRIPPA.

MÆCE-

PA. MÆCENAS also distinguished himself, and had a share in the glory. He was both the soldier and commander on that important day, and himself set fire to the enemies ships, most of which were either burnt or sunk (z). POMPEY, who a little before was at the head of three hundred and fifty ships, was now constrained to make towards *Asia*, with six or seven only, and was slain by ANTONY's order at *Miletus*. The same year, LEPIDUS, whom OCTAVIUS had commanded up to his succour, and had passed out of *Africa* into *Sicily*, finding himself at the head of twenty legions, after the defeat of POMPEY, possessed himself of *Messina*, and formed the design of bringing the whole island under his obedience; but his soldiers deserted, and went over to OCTAVIUS, who degraded and strip'd him of all his employments.

THO' MÆCENAS was very useful to OCTAVIUS during the civil wars, as he was his privy counsellor in conjunction with AGRIPPA, he was nevertheless frequently sent to *Rome*, of which he was prefect

(z) PEDONIUS in his *Epicedium*, Elegy first, observes that MÆCENAS gave great proofs of his courage at the last battle fought against the younger POMPEY :

*Illum piscosi viderunt saxa Pelori
Ignibus hostilis tradere ligna ratis.*

as well as of all *Italy*. The prefect (a) was one of the chief magistrates of *Rome*. He had the sole management of affairs when the consuls and emperors were absent; was entrusted with the regulation of civil matters, provision, buildings, shipping; all crimes, whether committed in the city, or within a hundred miles round, came immediately under his cognizance, and he condemned to death without appeal. How great and extensive must have been the capacity of this man, who could and did so well discharge his duty through a multiplicity of offices of so important a nature! Never did magistrate acquit himself so honourably as MÆCENAS: *Rome* was secure while he governed; he spared the lives of his fellow citizens, and committed not the least injustice (b).

(a) HORACE in his Odes speaks of MÆCENAS as a magistrate,

*Tu civitatem quis deceat status
Curas, & urbi sollicitus times.*

HOR. B. iii. Ode xxix.

But you for *Rome's* imperial state
Attend with ever watchful care,

FRANCIS.

(b) SENECA, who cannot be suspected of flattering MÆCENAS, admires his sweetness and humanity of behaviour while a magistrate. *Maxima laus illi tribuitur mansuetudinis: pepercit gladio, sanguine abstinuit: nec ullâ aliâ re quod posset quam licentia ostendit.* SENECA. Epist. cxiv. It is remarkable that this censor never was

THE peace which then subsisted was not built on a solid foundation. OCTAVIUS and ANTONY were both of them too ambitious to be fast friends. They were directed just as policy and circumstance of affairs would influence; at one time open to jealousy and suspicion; at others again they seemed assured of each other. OCTAVIUS at length, wisely judging of ANTONY by his former conduct, rather chose to come to an open rupture, than venture at a seeming friendship, which constantly exposed him to the secret machinations of his enemy. ANTONY had been proposed as consul for the ensuing year: the senate, at the solicitations of OCTAVIUS, reversed the election, and declared war against CLEOPATRA: ANTONY, on the other hand, divorced the prudent OCTAVIA; and great preparations were made on both sides to carry on hostilities. The battle of *Actium* decided the quarrel; the fleet of OCTAVIUS, commanded by AGRIPPA, gained a compleat victory. MÆCENAS was there (c). We cannot precisely determine what

Y. of R.

722.

Y. of R.

723.

speaks well of MÆCENAS, but he makes some ill-natured observation at the same time.

(c) THE first Ode of the Epodes of HORACE informs us that MÆCENAS was to go on board OCTAVIUS's gallies, in order to attack ANTONY's men of war:

*Hic Liburnis inter alta navium,
Amice, propugnacula;*

post

post he held; but his courage and bravery were celebrated, in having pursued ANTONY and CLEOPATRA, who fled towards *Peloponnesus*, and thence into *Egypt*. After this victory, which gave OCTAVIUS the empire of the world, MÆCENAS returned to his former post of *prefect*. The victorious troops, enraged at their being disbanded unrewarded, mutinied at *Brundisium*: OCTAVIUS, fearing they would not regard MÆCENAS as he was of the Equestrian order only, sent Y. of R. AGRIPPA into *Italy* on some other pretext; but 724. he was obliged to go thither in person, and his presence quieted the tumult. DONATUS, in his

*Paratus omne Cæsaris periculum
Subire, Mæcenas, tuo.*

HOR. Ode i. Epod. i.

While you, my brave illustrious friend,
Would CÆSAR's person with your own defend:
And ANTONY's high-tower'd fleet,
With light *Liburnian* galleys fearless meet.

FRANCIS.

Some however doubt whether he ever quitted *Rome*. APPIAN, B. v. *De bellis civil.* assures us, that MÆCENAS having convicted young LEPIDUS of the plot against OCTAVIUS, ordered him to be conducted to *Actium*, where the prince then was.

If this be true, it is plain, MÆCENAS could not have been present at that battle, since he must at that very time have been at *Rome* performing his function of prefect. But VELLEIUS, B. ii. c. 88. says LEPIDUS conspired against OCTAVIUS, while he was engaged in this last war, Dum ultimam bello Actiaco Alexan-
life

life of VIRGIL, tells us, that it was at this time that OCTAVIUS attended to the reading of the *Georgics*, in *Atella* a city of *Campania*, at which MÆCENAS was also present, and assisted his friend VIRGIL in reading alternately with him : We may observe with SÆTONIUS(e), that this prince, amidst all the troubles of civil war, never forgot to cultivate the *belles lettres*, but gave the most favourable and steady attention whenever the Literati read over their works to him, whether they were in prose or verse.

AFTER OCTAVIUS had settled his affairs in *Italy* and *Rome*, he sailed for *Syria*, with an intent to attack *Egypt*, and left MÆCENAS and AGRIPPA at *Rome*, fully authorized to govern

drinoque Cæsar imponit manum, &c. MÆCENAS might therefore have been in that action, and return afterwards to his office, while OCTAVIUS was pursuing ANTONY, and carrying the war into *Egypt*. PEDONIUS, who lived at that time, puts an end to this dispute. He paints the valour of his hero in that famous affair :

*Cum freta Nilivæ texerunt lata Carinæ,
Fortis erat circum, fortis & ante ducem.
Militis Eoi fugientis terga secutus,
Tertius ad Nilum dum fugit ille caput.*

Epiced. Eleg. i.

(e) INGENIA seculi sui omnibus modis fovit. Recitantes & benigne & patienter audivit, nec tantum carmina & historias, sed & orationes & dialogos. SÆTON. *Life of Augustus*, Chap. 89.

in

in his absence. He even gave them full power to open all letters he should send either to the senate or to private persons, to make such alterations in them, as they should think proper, before they were delivered; they farther were invested with an authority of issuing out edicts in his name, whenever there might be a necessity for them; and, that they might have a greater weight, he gave them his signet, on which was the figure of a sphinx (*q*). The wits in those days displayed their talents upon that occasion. This sphinx, said they, portends riddles. To put a stop to all these railleries OCTAVIUS changed his seal, and had ALEXANDER the Great,

(*q*) PLINY, B. xxxvii. c. i. speaks of this seal of AUGUSTUS. He at first had the impresson of a sphinx on it. Divus Augustus, says PLINY, inter initia sphinge signavit. Dûas in matris annulis jam indiscretæ magnitudinis invenerat. Altera per bella civilia, absente eo, amici signavere epistolas & edicta—non infaceto lepore accipientium, ænigmata adferre eam sphingem—Augustus postea ad evitanda convicia sphingis, Alexandri magni imagine signavit. SÆTONTIUS says, In diplomatibus libellisq; & epistolis signandis, initio sphinge usus est: mox imagine magni Alexandri: novissime suâ, Dioscoridis manu sculptâ, quâ signare infecti quoque principes perseveraverunt. DION confirms what SÆTONTIUS writes on that subject. The succeeding emperors imitated AUGUSTUS in this, excepting GALBA. Hic canem ex prora navis prospectantem, signum a majoribus suis acceptum, usurpavit. DION, B. li.

and afterwards his own figure engraved there-upon (g).

A FROG was the device of MÆCENAS (b), with which he sometimes sealed his public instruments. The people dreaded this animal, because it was very often annexed to his tax bills. As MÆCENAS was a man of uncommon sense, it was presumed he never did a thing inconsiderately. Many were of opinion that there was some hieroglyphic meaning in this seal of his.

(g) Διπλὴν γὰρ δὴ σφραγίδα, ἣ μάλιστα τότε ἐχρῆτο, ἐπεποίητο σφίγλα ἐν ἐκατέρᾳ ὁμοίαν ἐκλυπώσας, ὕστερον γὰρ τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν αὐτὴν ἐγλύψας, ἐκείνη τὰ πάντα ἐσημαίνετο. DION. B. li.

(b) PLINY, Book xxxvii. of his natural history, takes notice of the seal of MÆCENAS, the impression of which was a frog. Quin etiam Mæcenatis rana, per collationem pecuniarum, in magno terrore erat.

Mæcenas ranam sculptam sibi habuit; at in publicis annulo regio haud dubie utebatur. Creditur enim Augusti fuisse cancellarius: ut ejus familiaris Horatius innuit, à frequente amico rogatus, ut apud Mæcenatem suffragaretur:

*Inprimat his cura Mæcenas signa tabellis.
Dixeris, Experiar: Si vis, potes.*

Dio Cassius addit, Augustum promiscue sigillum præcipuum credidisse Mæcenati & Agrippæ; & tantum tribuisse ambobus, ut literas ad senatus scriptas vel alio, impune relegerent & immutarent. GUID. PANCIROLLI lib. Rerum memorabilium, tit. De legatis. in Salmuth. com.

SUETONIUS tells us the following story (*i*): OCTAVIUS, when a little boy, being at his grandfather's country seat, ordered the frogs to be quiet, which (as it was reported) they immediately obeyed, and were ever after silent in that place, as the frogs of *Seripha* are said to be; of which PLINY gives us an account. It was in allusion to this fable, which flattered the vanity of OCTAVIUS, that MÆCENAS chose a frog for his seal, which became (on account of this miraculous event) the emblem of discretion, for which this illustrious favourite was remarkable. Others again were of opinion, that this amphibious animal hinted at the double power he was entrusted with by his prince, both in land and sea affairs.

Y. of R. OCTAVIUS carried on the war with such success against ANTONY as to oblige him to kill himself. 724. CLEOPATRA, to avoid being carried away in triumph, ordered an aspick to be applied to her arm, and was stung to death. While these things were transacting in *Egypt*, M. LEPIDUS, son of the TRIUMVIR and of JUNIA, BRUTUS' sister, a young man, says VELLEIUS (*k*), of a good

(*i*) CUM primum fari cœpisset in avito suburbano obstreperantes forte ranas filere jussit; atque ex eo negantur ibi ranæ coaxare. SUETON. *Life of Augustus*, Chap. 94.

(*k*) Dum ultimam bello Actiaco Alexandrinoque Cæsar imponit manum, M. Lepidus juvenis, forma quam figure

figure, but weak judgment, formed a design to murder OCTAVIUS on his return to *Rome*; but this was prevented by the vigilance of the *prefect*: MÆCENAS watched the motions of this imprudent man very narrowly; and judging it upon the like occasions to be more safe and politic to act, rather than to deliberate, he secured him: and without any noise or disturbance stifled the plot, and the seeds of a fresh civil war in its infancy. LEPIDUS received a punishment due to his imprudence and temerity.

OCTAVIUS having reduced *Egypt* into a pro-^{Y. of R.} vince, returned into *Italy* towards the middle of the summer. He entered *Rome* in triumph, and the temple of JANUS was now locked up by his orders, after having been kept open two hundred years. It was then, says SÆTONIUS (*l*), that he reflected on the repeated reproaches made him by ANTONY, with being the only person who opposed the re-establishment of the commonwealth; and that he deliberated whether he

mente melior: Lepidi ejus, qui triumvir fuerat reip. constituendæ, filius, Junia Bruti sore natus, interficiendi, simul in urbem revertisset, Cæsaris consilia inierat. VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, B. ii. Chap. 88.

(*l*) DE reddenda republica bis cogitavit; primo post oppressum statim Antonium, memor objectum ab eo sibi sæpius, quasi per ipsum stare, ne redderetur. SÆTON. *Life of Augustus*, Chap. 28,

D

should

should restore liberty again to the *Romans*. It is much questioned, however, whether he thought seriously of the matter. Princes like OCTAVIUS can easily conceal their sentiments, nor is it an easy matter to see into their secret purposes. Be

Y. of R.

725.

that as it will, he advised about that important affair with AGRIPPA and MÆCENAS, his two intimate friends (*m*). AGRIPPA persuaded him generously to resign the sovereign authority, and to shew by his moderation that he had only taken up arms to revenge the death of CÆSAR. Nor did he forget to represent to him, by various examples, the dangers and fatal consequences of a power which is hateful to a republican spirit. But MÆCENAS, consulting nothing but the *prince's* interest, painted to him the risques of abdication. He farther observed, that the very sons and friends of those whom he had been obliged to sacrifice, would lose no opportunity of attacking and pursuing him, when they found themselves upon a level with him; that having put an end to the civil wars, and quieted mankind, he had justly a right to the sovereignty; and that the great and vast empire henceforward required one chief only, to maintain peace and order; that if the imperial dignity had cost the great JULIUS

(*m*) VIRGIL, according to DONATUS, was consulted upon this important affair by OCTAVIUS—but this fact has the less weight, as we can find no authority for it among the ancient writers.

his

his life, it was owing to his proud and haughty disposition, a fault which, no doubt, OCTAVIUS would most carefully avoid. OCTAVIUS, after hearing their opinions, admired the frankness of AGRIPPA, but preferred the advice of MÆCENAS (n). We may suppose it agreed with his own private sentiments; since he confessed that he found himself constrained thereto by his destiny; and this indeed is the more credible from what passed two years after in the senate-house, where he almost played the same farce, and pretended to resign his royalty. It would have startled him, had they taken him at his word, but he was secure: the senators who greatly wished it, durst not declare themselves, but meanly entreated him to continue in the regency.

I RETURN to MÆCENAS. Some modern writers would intimate that policy and self-interest only had the greatest share in this advice, as if in reality there was no such thing as truth and sincerity amongst courtiers: That MÆCENAS was moved to it from a natural inclination to luxury and effeminacy, and his apprehensions of public censure in a republican government. But this idle conjecture has no sort of foundation, nor support from any authority of the ancients. How can we suspect MÆCENAS of such a fear, when we know, he himself pressed OCTAVIUS to con-

(n) Τὰ δὲ δὴ τῷ Μακῆνῃ μᾶλλον εἶλετο. DION.

stitute a censor, in order to examine into the families, fortune, and conduct of the senators and knights, of which number he was? He gave him also excellent rules and instructions how to govern, and told him, the only way to accustom the *Romans* to his dominion, and to insure his own safety, was to make them his friends, a *guard* much securer than that of his *soldiers*; and that this was easily attainable, provided his conduct was modest and virtuous, raised no new imposts, nor condemned any person for a fault, which he might himself be charged with; in short if he behaved towards his subject, in the manner he would choose to be treated himself were he a subject. This able confident farther advised him to issue out orders, that the sons of knights and senators should from their infancy be well instructed in the *belles lettres*, and as they advanced farther in years, they should learn to ride, and all such other exercises as became the young nobility; for which purpose he should have learned men, and different masters in his pay: from such a good education, he might always expect the greatest employments would be discharged with honour, as they would then be filled by persons capable of such important trusts. As to the title OCTAVIUS was to assume, he observed that, that of *King* was hateful to the *Romans*, and was therefore to be rejected; that of *Dictator* had been fatal to his great-uncle; he might

might therefore content himself with that of *Imperator*, a title the soldiers gave to their victorious generals. OCTAVIUS followed his advice, and found his account in it, for to MÆCENAS he was indebted for all the *glory* and *felicity* of his reign: Nor were the arts and sciences which he protected the least ornaments of it. Poetry especially (which he very successfully amused himself with) was carried at that time to its utmost perfection and beauty, through the favour of this learned and judicious prince, who ever seconded the zealous encouragements of his dear *favourite*.

IN 727, the senate confirmed new honours on OCTAVIUS, and gave him the title of AUGUSTUS; We shall henceforward call him by that name only. Y. of R.
727.

PEACE reigned every where; and MÆCENAS, (o) having no farther employment in the government of Rome (p) perfectly enjoyed a pleasing

(o) ATAVUS tuus Augustus, M. Agrippæ Mitylenense secretum, C. Mæcenati urbe in ipsa, velut peregrinum otium permisit, quorum alter bellorum socius, alter Romæ pluribus laboribus jactatus, ampla quidem, sed pro ingentibus meritis præmia acceperunt — Avus meus Augustus, Agrippæ & Mæcenati usurpare otium post labores concessit. TACIT. B. xiv. C. 53, 55.

(p) HORACE refers what he says in his third book, Ode viii, to this peaceable time, when MÆCENAS was

leisure, which he consecrated to his pleasures, the greatest part of which consisted in study (q). The first genius's of the age for poetry, eloquence, and philosophy, were his constant companions. He agreeably passed his time in their company. He contracted no chance and accidental friendships; nor would enter into familiarity without a thorough knowledge of the person and his character. He was no more prefect of *Rome*. He invites MÆCENAS to enjoy his ease, and to think no more of business:

Mitte civiles super urbe curas :

Negligens, ne quâ populus laboret,

Parce privatus nimium cavere :

Dona præsentis rape latus horæ,

Linque severa.

No more let *Rome* your anxious thoughts engage,

No more the public claims thy pious fears,

Be not too anxious then with private cares,

But seize the gift the present moment brings,

Those fleeting gifts, and leave severer things.

FRANCIS.

(q) MÆCENAS was not stinted in his hours for reading; but in imitation of SCIPIO, LÆLIUS, and a great many other celebrated *Romans*, studied the *belles lettres* all his life. Poetry was his favourite study. He felt all the beauty and advantages of it, as the philosopher CLEANTHES did of old, according to SENECA: Nam (ut dicebat Cleanthes) quemadmodum spiritus noster clariorem sonum reddit, cum illum tuba per longi canalis angustius tractum, patentiore novissimè exitu effudit: sic sensus nostros clariores carminis arcta necessitas efficit. Eadem negligentius audiuntur, mi-
racter.

racter(r). Buffoons and such sort of infamous gentry could have no pretence to his acquaintance. Meanness of birth was no bar to his friendship—but *wit*, without *manners* and *conduct*, was not a sufficient introduction. Little dazzled with riches or pompous titles, he preferred *ability*, *learning*, and *probity*. As he took such nice precautions we may easily conclude that his friends were few but select, and of a distinguished merit; and that he was not subject to change or

nusque percutiunt, quamdiu soluta oratione dicuntur: ubi accessere numeri, & egregium sensum adstrinxere certi pedes, eadem illa sententia velut lacerto excussa torquetur. SENECA. Epist. cviii.

JULIUS SCALIGER in his preface on poetry, looks upon those who despise this heavenly art, as a parcel of stupid and malicious wretches. Qui illam [poesin] agresti & aspero supercilio damnant, bruti homines, ne in hominum quidem censu reponendi sunt — & memineris istas bonæ famæ hircines ideo vociferari, ut ne quod eis deest adsit nobis. We have to this day a set of these ignorant and envious animals, who having no taste or relish for poetry themselves, insolently despise it as an art—Riches and titles are generally the lights which dazzle the eyes of these enemies of the muses.—Others again, scrupulously nice (for poetry has her adversaries of different kinds) can't suffer her sprightliness and gaieties. They even condemn the most instructive tragedies, and moral comedies. This opinion proceeds from nothing but an enthusiastic folly, which has already been often ridiculed.

(r) THAT MÆCENAS took the wisest precautions as to the choice of his friends, before he became pro-

withdraw his friendship where he had once bestowed it. Steddy and fixed in his choice, he never ceased loading those with favours whom he once judged worthy of his regard and notice. Far unlike those miserable wretches, whose treasures never see the light, he knew how to enjoy his riches with honour. Poets in particular, were his chief favourites, because himself was a lover, and beloved of the Muses.

VIRGIL held the first place in MÆCENAS' friendship; this inimitable poet claimed precedence not only on account of the sublimity of his genius, but because of his integrity and honesty. MÆCENAS saw these excellent qualities; he protected him (as was before observed) against the usurpers of his patrimony, and generously procured him the happy situation, with which the muses were so well delighted; and which inspired him to compose those celebrated writings, digal of his favours, HORACE will afford several passages to prove,

Difficiles aditus primos habet.

HOR. B. i. Sat. ix.

Paucorum hominum, & mentis bene sanæ, Ibid.

*Præsertim cautum dignos adsumere, prava
Ambitione procul.* Id. B. i. Sat. vi.

*Cum referre negas, quali sit quisque parente
Natus, dum ingenuus.* Ibid.

which

which did honour to the age, and to the Roman language.

MÆCENAS had a great fondness for HORACE, whose wit and humour were inimitable; he loaded him with favours, and made him a present of a country-seat among the *Sabins* (s). HORACE

(s) HORACE knew the bound of his desires, and well content with what he owed to the bounty of MÆCENAS, asked not greedily for more, tho' sure of not being refused:

Nec (says he) si plura velim, tu dare deneges.

HOR. B. iii. Ode xvi.

He knew by his own experience, that a decent *modicum* was sufficient to make a philosopher happy:

Non ebur, neque aurum

Mea renidet in domo lacunar:

At fides, et ingeni

Benigna vena est: pauperemque dives

Me petit: nihil supra

Deos laceſſo: nec potentem amicum

Largiora flagito,

Satis beatus unicus Sabinis.

Nor here an iv'ry cornish shines,

Nor columns of *Hymettian* mines

Proudly support their citron beams,

Nor rich with gold my ceiling flames:

Yet with a firm and honest heart,

Unknowing or of fraud or art,

was sensible of his obligations to that minister : his works are full of acknowledgments, and every where express the panegyric of his benefactor. PROPERTIUS was also in favour with MÆCENAS (*t*), and always consulted him about his writings.

AMONGST his illustrious companions were VALGIUS and POLLIO, men of consular dignity ; VARIUS, a celebrated epic and tragic poet ; FUNDANIUS, an excellent comic writer ; DOMITIUS MARSUS, an eminent epigrammatist ; PLOTIUS TUCCA, who assisted VARIUS in the correction of the *Æneids* ; both the VISCI, Roman senators, and all of them favourites of APOL-

A liberal vein of genius blest,
I'm by the rich and great carest.
My patron's gift, my Sabine field
Shall all its rural plenty yield ;
And happy in that rural store,
Of heav'n and him I ask no more. FRANCIS.

(*t*) PROPERTIUS, in many parts of his works, publishes the friendship MÆCENAS had for him :

*Mæcenas, nostræ spes invidiosa juventæ,
Et vitæ & mortis gloria iusta meæ.*
B. ii. Eleg. i.

*Mollis tu cæptæ fautor cape tora juventæ,
Dexteraque immixtis da mihi signa votis.*
B. iii. Eleg. vii.

LO (u); AREUS of *Alexandria*, a philosopher and a friend of AUGUSTUS; MELISSUS and

(u) HORACE in his first book of Satires gives us a description of the different talents of the several poets, the friends of MÆCENAS,

*Arguta meretrice potes, Davoque Chremeta
Eludente senem, comis garrire libellos
Unus vivorum, Fundani : Pollio regum
Faeta canit pede ter percusso : forte epos acer,
Ut nemo Varius ; ductu molle atque facetum
Virgilio adnuerunt gaudentes rure Camœnæ.*

B. i. Sat. x.

Of all mankind, in light and chearful strain
FUNDANIUS best can paint the comic scene,
The wily harlot, and the slave, who join
To wipe the miser of his darling coin.
POLLIO in pure Iambic Numbers sings
The tragic scenes of heroes and of kings ;
And VARIUS in sublime and ardent vein
Supports the grandeur of the Epic strain.
On VIRGIL all the rural muses smile,
Smooth flow his lines, and elegant his style.

FRANCIS.

-d He has in a particular manner in another place celebrated VARIUS for his genius for Epic Poetry,

*Scriberis Vario fortis & hostium
Victor, Mæonii Carminis alite* B. i. Ode vi.

High soaring on *Mæonian* wing,
VARIUS in martial tone shall sing. FRANCIS.

VARIUS was equally eminent and successful as a tragedy writer. QUINTILIAN in his *Instit. Orat.* B. x. compares the *Thyestes* of VARIUS to the best tragedy of the *Greeks* ; Jam Varii *Thyestes* cuilibet

FUSCUS

The Life of MÆCENAS.

FUSCUS ARISTIUS, learned grammarians; the rhetorician HELIODORUS, the most learned man

Græcorum comparari potest.

THE Panegyrist of PISO says of this Poet, when talking of MÆCENAS;

*Nec sua Virgilio permisit numina soli
Mæcnas: tragico quatientem carmina cæstu
Evexit Varium.*

We have but a few fragments of the works of this great poet. TIBULLUS makes mention of VALGIUS, and describes the genius of this author:

*Est tibi, qui possit magnis se accingere rebus
Valgius; æterno propior non alter Homero.*

B. iv. Eleg. i, to *Messala*.

The ninth ode of the second book of HORACE is addressed to VALGIUS. C. ASINIUS POLLIO, an orator, poet, and historian, above the common cast, a great general, and one of the consuls in the year of Rome 713, is sufficiently known from the history of his times, as well as the Eclogues of VIRGIL, which are dedicated to him,

*Pollio amat nostram, quamvis sit rustica musam,
Pollio et ipse facit nova carmina.*

VIRG. Eclog. iii.

POLLIO my rural verse vouchsafes to read,
My POLLIO writes himself——

DRYDEN.

*En erit, ut liceat totum mihi ferre per orbem
Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno.*

Eclog. viii.
of

of the Greeks; among the orators, MÆCENAS was particularly intimate with PÆDIUS PUBLI-

Is there an hour in fate reserv'd for me,
To sing thy deeds in numbers worthy thee?
In numbers like to thine, cou'd I rehearse
Thy lofty tragic scenes, thy labour'd verse—

DRYDEN.

HORACE also address'd the first ode of the second book to him:

*Paulum severæ Musa tragædiæ
Desit theatris: mox, ubi publicas
Res ordinaris, grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno,
Insigne moestis præsidium reis,
Et consulenti Pollio curiæ:
Cui laurus æternos honores
Dalmatico peperit triumpho.*

Retard a while thy glowing vein,
Nor swell the solemn, tragic scene;
And when thy sage, historic cares
Have form'd the train of Rome's affairs,
With lofty rapture re-inflam'd, infuse
Heroic thoughts, and wake the buskin'd muse:

O POLLIO, thou the great defence
Of sad impleaded innocence,
On whom, to weigh the grand debate,
In deep consult the Fathers wait;
For whom the triumphs o'er *Dalmatia* spread
Unfading honours round thy laurel'd head.

FRANCIS.

We must not confound DOMITIUS MARSUS, a celebrated epigrammatist, with MARCUS, author of the *Amazonides*. MARTIAL has two epigrams, which plainly mark a difference between the two:

COLA,

COLA, MESSALA CORVINUS (x), CAIUS FURNIUS, a tribune of the people, and his son, a most elegant and faithful historian, whom AUGUSTUS raised to the consular dignity.

THE different talents of these great men, had we no other proofs, would sufficiently evince us of the abilities of MÆCENAS. There always

*Ergo ero Virgilius, si munera Mæcenatis
Des mihi? Virgilius non ero, Marsus ero.*

MART. B. viii. Epig. lvi.

*Sæpius in libro memoratur Persius uno,
Quam levis in tota Marsus Amazonide.*

Ib. B. iv. Epig. xxix.

(x) MESSALA CORVINUS, a Roman senator, of illustrious birth, and a great orator, was colleague in the consulship with AUGUSTUS in the year of Rome 758. He was the friend and patron of TIBULLUS, who in his iv. Book of Paneg. to MESSALA thus describes his virtues and rare qualifications :

*Te, Messala, canam, quamquam me cognita virtus
Terret —*

*Non tua majorum contenta est gloria fama,
Nec quæris quid quaque index sub imagine dicat,
Sed generis præscos contendis vincere honores,
Quam tibi majores, majus decus ipse futurus.*

CICERO in his book of eminent orators mentions MESSALA with great respect. And in his xvth Epistle to BRUTUS, Messalam habes, says he, cave putes, probitate, constantiâ, curâ, studio reipublicæ, quidquam illi esse simile ut eloquentia, qua mirabiliter ex-

was an harmony amongst them; they never gave each other the least cause of uneasiness, as they knew, nor jealousy, nor envy. The noblest, and richest amongst them had no pride, nor did the most learned hug himself with his superior knowledge. Merit, in whatever shape it appeared, held an honourable station among them. HORACE gives us a lively description of the house of MÆCENAS, and of those who frequented it (y). The love he expressed for learning,

cellit, vix in eo locum ad laudandum habere videatur. HORACE, B. i. Sat. x. mentions him :

Te, Messala, tuo cum fratre, &c.

And QUINTILIAN in his *Inst. orat.* B. x. Chap. i. says Messala nitidus & candidus, & quodammodo præse ferens in dicendo nobilitatem suam, viribus minor. PLINY informs us, that MESSALA, two years before he died, so entirely lost his memory, as to forget his own name: Sui vero nominis Messala Corvinus orator oblitus. B. vii. Chap. 24.

(y) HORACE lived in close connection with all MÆCENAS's friends; he names several of them in his xth Sat. Book i. and wishes his writings may prove deserving of their approbation; little anxious about the criticisms of idle poetsasters, or the insipid railleries of half-witted fellows; in his ixth Sat. of Book i. he draws a fine picture of an impertinent creature, who applied to him to be introduced to MÆCENAS — I will do you all the services there, says he; you shall eclipse all his favourites, and become the chief of them through my means — The poet replies

*Isto non vivitur illic
Quo tu rere, modo: domus hac nec purior ulla est,
Nec magis his aliena malis: nil mi officit, inquam.*

and

and the favours he continually bestowed upon those who made any shining figure, easily determined authors to inscribe and dedicate their works to him. VIRGIL, HORACE, PROPERTIUS, and PEDONIUS afford us excellent testimonies of this. The injury of the times has destroyed many others, whose titles we can scarcely trace in the ancient writers. PLUTARCH informs us that AUGUSTUS himself dedicated his commentaries to his two intimate friends AGRIPPA and MÆCENAS.

THE house of this great man was always open to poets and men of letters—but your CARBILIUS's, ANSERS, your CORNIFICIUS's, MÆVIUS's, FANNIUS's, and such like (z) snarling animals of no me-

*Ditior hic, aut est quia doctior : est locus uni-
Cuique suus.*

B. i. Sat. iv.

We live not there, as you suppose,
On such precarious terms as those,
No family was ever purer ;
From such infections none securer.
It never hurts me in the least ;
That one excels in wealth, or taste ;
Each person there a place inherits
A place proportion'd to his merits.

FRANCIS.

(z) CARBILIUS PICTOR wrote a book against the *Æneids*, entituled the *Æneidomastix*, which DONATUS very falsely and unjustly charges MÆCENAS with. ANSER was a panegyric poet, and a friend of
rit

rit or conduct, were entirely excluded; MÆCENAS never countenanced or admitted those banes of knowledge and learning to his familiarity, who write out of mere spite, envy, and vanity; and, to be talked of, attempt to criticise the best writings. How different are the satires of HORACE from this turn? the strokes there, glance only at such whose reputations are already

MARC ANTONY, who made him a present of POMPEY's estate situated in the territory of *Falernum*; this occasioned CICERO to say, *Philip. xiii. De Falerno Anseres depellentur*. Some commentators pretend that VIRGIL meant this ANSER when in his ixth Eclogue he says,

Nam neque adhuc Varo videor, nec dicere Cinna

Digna, sed argutos inter strepere anser olores.

Bucol. ix,

I nor to CINNA's ears, nor VARUS' dare aspire,
But gabble like a goose amidst the swan-like choir.

DRYDEN.

CORNIFICIUS, a very severe epigrammatist, was an enemy to VIRGIL, and never ceased spitting his venom at this great poet. MÆVIUS was another despicable bard in those days. VIRGIL and HORACE have made him sufficiently ridiculous to all posterity. FANNIUS QUADRATUS was one of the DENNIS's of his time, and an aukward critic of HORACE's writings, who speaks of him in several of his Satires,

Beatus Fannius, ultro

Delatis capsis & imagine.

The pictures and works of the eminent poets were always placed in the *Palatine* library, in honour to them. — FANNIUS, ambitious of the same honour, though very undeserving of it, carried his trash and picture thither himself.

E

blasted,

blasted, at wretched poets, or deceased authors : Abilities are mentioned with respect ; he is discreetly witty ; nor did the friend of MÆCENAS ever divert himself at the expence of men of merit. The *insects* of *Parnassus*, and all such as were not admitted into this illustrious company, had their meetings nevertheless. They held their rendezvous at the houses of rich coxcombs, such as the TIGELLII (*a*), whose depraved taste and malign spirits perfectly agreed with the rhapsodical rhimes, and ill natured back-strokes of these poetasters. VIRGIL and HORACE, nay MÆCENAS himself, were not spared amongst them ; these great men however laughed at their weakness, and despised their ribbaldry :

*Men' moveat (says HORACE) cimex Pantilius ?
aut cruciet, quod*

Vellicet absentem Demetrius ? aut quod ineptus

Fannius Hermogenis ledat conviva Tigelli ?

B. i. Sat. x.

Say shall that brag PANTILIUS move my spleen ?
Shall I be tortur'd with a wretch obscene,

(*a*) WE must not, as many have done, confound this TIGELLIUS HERMOGENES with the *Sardinian* TIGELLIUS, whom HORACE wittily lashes in the beginning of his second and third Satires of his first book. The latter was dead at the time the poet wrote ; he speaks on the contrary of the other as of a person then in being, see Sat. iii, iv, and x. This is an observation of DACIER and other commentators. These two TIGELLIUS's however resembled each other in this, *viz.* they were both good musicians, and always received bad company at their houses.

Or

Or foolish FANNIUS, for a sordid treat
With sweet TIGELLIUS, shall my verses rate?

FRANCIS.

This was rightly judged—for the best way to treat such insignificant fellows is to use them with contempt. MÆCENAS not only protected the literati, but he was himself a man of great learning, and a judicious writer, both in prose and verse (b). He wrote the tragedy of OCTAVIA, the life of AUGUSTUS, a natural history of animals, a treatise on precious stones, and another entituled *Prometheus*: but time, or some other accidents have robbed us of all

(b) PRISCIAN tells us MÆCENAS wrote the tragedy of OCTAVIA; and cites this verse out of it,

Pexisti capillum naturæ muneribus gratum.

MEIBOMIUS also calls the *Prometheus* of MÆCENAS a tragedy; but SENECA, Epist. xix says, that it was a book only which bore that title, Si quæris in quo libro dixerit, in eo qui Prometheus inscribitur—He just before produces a sentence in it, Ipsa enim altitudo attonat summa, which he both criticises as to the sense as well as the diction. SERVIUS on the *Georgics*, Book ii. § 42. asserts that MÆCENAS wrote the life of AUGUSTUS in prose; and in support thereof quotes the following passage in HORACE:

tuque pedestribus

Dices historiis prælia Cæsaris,

Mæcenas, melius, ductaque per vias

Regum colla minacium.

B. ii. Ode xii.

Tis thine in stronger prose to tell

The mighty Pow'r of CÆSAR's war;

How kings beneath his battle fell,

And dragg'd indignant his triumphant car.

these, unless the bare titles and some few fragments. DION CASSIUS indeed has preserved

PLINY, in his viith book, chap. 45. confirms this sentiment; he is speaking of the reverses of fortune AUGUSTUS sometimes met with, and quotes MÆCENAS and AGRIPPA as vouchers for the truth of his assertion. This author also gives us reason to think MÆCENAS was not less curious in natural history, and that he wrote a treatise on animals, and another on precious stones; for in his *Elenchus*, he mentions him as one from whom he had borrowed what he says in the ixth, xxxii^d, and xxxviith books of his history, where he treats of aquatic animals, the remedies drawn out of them, and of precious stones. He lays a particular stress on his authority with regard to a marvellous affair which happened in the reign of AUGUSTUS — take his own words: *Divo Augusto principe Lucrinum lacum invecus pauperis cujusdam puerum ex Baiano, puteolos in ludum literarium itantem, cum meridiano immotans appellatum eum Simonis nomine, sæpius fragmentis panis, quem ob id ferebat, alexisset, miro amore dilexit. Pigeret referre, ni res Mæcenatis & Flaviani & Flavi Alfii, multorumque esset litteris mandata.* B. ix. c. 7. And it is here to be observed, that the discourse of MÆCENAS to AUGUSTUS, as related by DION in his lii^d book, is not so perfect but that it wants something in the exordium, as well as in the conclusion of AGRIPPA's speech.

Besides the works I have mentioned, MÆCENAS wrote a book on manners, some fragments of which are taken notice of by SENECA in his cxivth epistle; he also wrote several poems. — CHARISIUS in his first book, repeats one verse, taken from the xth book. The following verse, so much esteemed by the antients, and SENECA himself, was probably quoted out of some of those books,

Nec tumulum curo: sepelit natura relictos.

ISIDORUS, in his *Orig.* B. xix. c. 32. *De annulis*, has one

one discourse entire, which MÆCENAS made when AUGUSTUS proposed the question, whether he should abdicate or not.

preserved us some of MÆCENAS's writings addressed to HORACE on the loss of a friend. TURNEBUS corrects, and reads them thus, in his *Adv. B. xx. C. 2.*

*Lugent, O mea vita! te smaragdus,
Beryllus quoque; Flacce, nec nitentes
Nuper candida margarita, quæras,
Nec quos Thynica lima perpolivit
Anellos, nec jaspios lapillos.*

TURNEBUS, *ibid.* thinks these verses were made upon the death of HORACE; but this is a mistake, for he out-lived MÆCENAS. We find the following verses in the life of HORACE:

*Ni te visceribus meis, Horati,
Plus jam diligo, tu tuum sodalem
Hinno me videas strigiosorem.*

The following verses, which are also supposed to be of MÆCENAS, are taken from a book, the title of which is not known, by DIOMEDES, a Greek grammarian B. iii. It is a description of the feasts of *Cybele*:

*Ades huc, ades, Cybelle dea, Montigena dea,
Age tympano sonanti quate flexibile caput,
Latus horreat flagello, comitum Chorus ululet.*

BARTHIUS, in his *Adversf. B. xvii. Ch. 3.* cites the first line of these verses, and reads it *Montigera* instead of *Montigena*. But the most celebrated verses of MÆCENAS are quoted by SENECA in his cist letter, who condemns the sentiments: *Inde illud Mæcenatis turpissimum votum: quo & debilitatem non recusat, & deformitatem, & novissime acutam crucem, dummodo inter hæc mala spiritus prorogetur:*

*Debilem facito manu,
Debilem pede, coxa:*

THESE were the agreeable amusements of MÆCENAS (c): and PEDONIUS (a coteremporary poet) says of him, that he was accustomed to pay his court to the Virgin Sisters in his delightful gardens, seated beneath the cool shades of his green spreading trees, whence the delicious birds constantly warbled their harmonious songs. Na-

Tuber adstrue gibberum,

Lubricos quate dentes.

Vita dum superest, bene est.

Hanc mihi, vel acuta,

Si sedeam cruce, sustine.

Quod miserrimum erat, si incidisset, optatur, & tamquam vita petitur, supplicii mora: contemptissimum putarem, si vivere vellet usque ad crucem. . . . quid sibi vult ista carminis effœminati turpitudine, quid timoris dementissimi pactio? quid tam fœda vitæ mendicatio?

THE style of MÆCENAS was in general found fault with for its affectation. AUGUSTUS himself, according to SÜETONIUS, was the first to joke him upon it, by affecting, when he wrote letters to him, to imitate his style: Exagitabat nonnunquam in primis Mæcenatē suum, cujus *μυροειχῆς*, ut aiit, cincinnos, usquequaque persequitur, & imitando per jocum irridet. *Life of Augustus*, C. 86. SENECA nevertheless (who was one of his most avowed enemies) allows him to have had a superior genius, and great dispositions for eloquence: Ingeniosus vir ille fuit, magnum exemplum Romanæ eloquentiæ daturus, nisi illum enervasset felicitas. *Epist.* xix. And in his cxivth, which is a kind of libel against MÆCENAS, he says, magni ingenii vir fuerat, si non in oratione diffiueret.

(c) PEDO ALBINOVANUS says, MÆCENAS used to write verses in his fine gardens,

Pieridas, Phœbumque colens in mollibus hortis

Sederat argutas garrulus inter aves.

turally

turally affable, humane, and benevolent, the *belles lettres* but served to polish those innate beauties, and inherent virtues. He took a peculiar pleasure in doing good: and, though a court favourite, was so far from injuring any private person, that he even studied to avoid the very suspicion of such a guilt (*d*). In the highest esteem with his prince, his modesty and affability gained him the love of all the courtiers. The following instance will sufficiently determine in what great favour he was with the *Romans*: being just recovered from a dangerous indisposition, he went to the play; the audience, to shew their zeal and affection, rose upon his first coming into the theatre (*e*), and by a gene-

(*d*) *Omnia cum posses, tanto tam carus amico,
Te sensit nemo velle nocere tamen.*

PEDON. Epiced.

MÆCENAS was of a different character from that against which the Chorus of the second act in SENECA's tragedy of HERCULES on mount *Oeta* so much exclaims:

*Colit hic reges, calcet ut omnes,
Perdatque aliquos, nullumque levet.
Tantum ut noceat, cupit esse potens.*

MEIBOMIUS errs greatly to quote these verses as from the tragedy of OCTAVIA.

(*e*) IT was customary with the *Romans* to rise whenever a prince, or person of great distinction, came into the publick shews; they offered up their vows, and clapped them at their entrance: people of an odious character, on the contrary, when they appeared, were hissed and hooted out of their theatres. HORACE mentions these honours paid to MÆCENAS by the *Romans*.

ral applause, expressed their joy at his late recovery.

He was in great esteem with all conditions of men — his slaves adored him: his kindness lightened their chains and servitude; the loss of

*Vile potabis modicis Sabinum
Cantharis, Græca quod ego ipse testa
Conditum levi; datus in theatro*

Cum tibi plausus,

*Chare Mæcenas eques, ut paterni
Fluminis ripæ, simul & jocosæ
Redolent laudes tibi Vaticani*

Mentis imago.

B. I. Ode xx.

A poet's bev'rage humbly cheap,
(Should great MÆCENAS be my guest,)

Crude vintage of the Sabine grape,

But yet in sober cups, shall crown the feast;

'Twas rack'd into a Grecian cask,

Its rougher juice to melt away,

I seal'd it too — a pleasing task,

With annual joy to mark that glorious day,

When in applausive shouts, thy name

Spread from the theatres around,

Floating on thy own Tiber's stream,

And Echo, playful nymph, return'd the sound.

FRANCIS.

Te Jovis impio

Tutela Saturno refulgens

Eripuit, volucrisque fati

Tardavit alas: tum populus frequens

Faustum theatris ter crepuit sonum.

B. II. Ode xvii.

Thee, Jove's bright influence snatch'd away

From baleful SATURN's impious ray,

And stopp'd the rapid wings of fate,

When the full theatre elate

With joyful transports hail'd thy name,

And thrice unprais'd the loud acclaim.

FRANCIS.

liberty

liberty was no misfortune to them, since they served so good a master. SÆTONIUS relates a pretty extraordinary story upon this occasion, which I beg leave to insert here: C. MELISSUS, born at *Spoletum*, of free parents, was, upon account of their misunderstandings, exposed in his infancy; falling happily into the hands of a person who gave him a liberal education, he became an excellent grammarian, and as such was given in present to MÆCENAS. He behaved so well, that he was treated more like a friend than a slave. His mother reclaimed him, and declared, by laying her hands upon him, according to the ancient custom, that he was born free; but MELISSUS preferred his present situation to the prerogatives of his birth: MÆCENAS, however, not only presented him with his freedom, but he made him one of his companions (f).

(f) The freemen generally assumed the name and surname of their masters. MELISSUS with the consent of MÆCENAS, took that of CAIUS CILNIUS MELISSUS. AUGUSTUS, into whose favour he had insinuated himself, made him his librarian. At the age of sixty he wrote some humorous books, and invented a new sort of comedy. *Fecit & novum genus togatarum, inscripsitque Trabeatas*, says, SÆTONIUS of him, in his book *Of illustrious grammarians*. He was both a poet and a grammarian. OVID in the ivth book *De Ponto*, *Eleg. xvi.* speaks of MELISSUS's comedies:

*Musæque Turanni tragicis innixa cothurnis,
Et tua cum socco Musa, Melisse, levi.*

HEINSIUS, in his remark on this last verse, says, that
He

He was not the only one who happily met with such usage: AQUILA and THALATION had wit and abilities which rendered them ornaments to their master and to the world. — We shall by and by have occasion to speak of them.

HIS excellent qualities endeared him to AUGUSTUS; he liked that honest frankness in MÆCENAS, which is so seldom met with in courtiers and the favourites of princes; he was a stranger to dissimulation and abject flattery. The Roman prince was attentive to the wise counsels of his minister, and received infinite advantages from them.

AUGUSTUS was of a choleric and revengeful disposition, and often stood in great need of such a friend as MÆCENAS to moderate and

the humorous writings of MELISSUS were fables, somewhat in the manner of ESOP. *Id enim scribendi genus jocos vocabant.* PHÆDRUS calls his fables so:

*Tu qui nasute scripta distringis mea,
Et hoc jocorum legere fastidis genus.*

Several learned men are of opinion that MÆCENAS MESSIUS, mentioned by PLINY in the xxviii book Ch. vi. is the same with this freeman MÆCENAS, and that we should read it MÆCENATEM MELISSUM. The naturalist informs us, that he spoke not a word for three years, in order to be cured of a spitting of blood. *Sermoni parci multis de causis salutare est.* Triennio Mæcenatem Messium accepimus silentium sibi imperavisse, a convulsione reddito sanguine.

soften his passions; of this DION gives us a remarkable instance: AUGUSTUS on a particular occasion being in the seat of justice, and giving way to his cruelty, was on the point of condemning several poor prisoners to die: MÆCENAS, not being able to get at him for the croud, threw his tablets, on which he had wrote these words, *Rise, hangman*: AUGUSTUS on reading the contents, left the court without condemning one. The reproof seems severe enough; but MÆCENAS knew his master well, and was assured, he never took offence at his liberties; and was pleased his friends would soften him, when his passions became too predominant. MÆCENAS never insinuated himself into favour by cringing, and flattering his prince's imperfections. *Honour, honesty, and true knowledge* were the basis on which they had founded their reciprocal friendship; and though AUGUSTUS became lord of the world, MÆCENAS ever nobly preserved his frankness and generous sincerity.

HE was not less distinguishable for his discretion. He spoke little, but to the purpose (g), and was in the most eminent degree qualified in this particular; a particular absolutely requisite to those who converse much with mankind,

(g) In amicos fidus extitit. Quorum præcipui erant ob taciturnitatem Mæcenas, &c.

and

The Life of MÆCENAS.

and more especially to such as are entrusted with the confidence and affairs of princes.

He is charged however with having once trans-

gressed in this point: In 731, FANNIUS CÆPIO
Y. of R. 731. conspired against the Emperor's life: MURENA,

brother-in-law of MÆCENAS, was suspected to be concerned in this conspiracy; MÆCENAS

well apprized of this, and apprehending the consequence, discovered the secret to his wife

TERENTIA. The conspirators were summoned to appear, but disobeying the summons, were

condemned to banishment, and afterwards put to death. Nor could the joint interests of PROCU-

LEIUS, MURENA's brother, nor that of his brother-in-law avail him. AUGUSTUS was dis-

pleased at MÆCENAS for this piece of indiscretion. DION endeavours to palliate this circum-

stance, by saying MURENA probably might have been unjustly (*b*) suspected, and that MÆ-

CENAS acted in this affair from a principle of extreme fondness for TERENTIA. Be this as it

will, the emperor soon forgot his resentment, as as we may see by what follows.

AUGUSTUS was gone into *Sicily*, in order to
Y. of R. 732. proceed to *Asia*, when he was informed that there
were great grumblings at *Rome* about the choice

(*b*) Καὶ τινὲς καὶ διὰ τὴν Τερентίαν τὴν τῆς Μαικῆς
γυναῖκα ἀποδηῆσαι αὐτὸν ὑπέλπιον· ἢ ἐπειδὴν
πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ ἐλογοποιεῖτο, ἀνὰ
θεῶν τινὲς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοθιμίᾳ αὐτῇ σιωπῇ. DION, B. liv.
of

of consuls. He sent AGRIPPA therefore to Rome, and nominated him a second time prefect, to put an end to these feuds and animosities; and, to give him the greater *eclat*, he obliged him to divorce his wife MARCELLA, though a daughter of his sister OCTAVIA, whose consent for this purpose he had engaged; and commanded him to marry his own daughter JULIA (i), young MARCELLUS's widow (k); thus loading him at once with honour and infamy. Some were of opinion AUGUSTUS had other motives which disposed him to this match. It is dangerous to be serviceable to princes of AUGUSTUS's character. The reputation AGRIPPA acquired to himself from so many signal victories, went near to ruin him. AUGUSTUS grew jealous of his power, and was even weak enough to fear him; though the probity, friendship, and fidelity of this prudent general, of which he had received so many repeated proofs, could never admit the least room for so unaccountable a suspicion. He was deliberating on his ruin, and consulted

Y. of R.

733.

(i) M. DE S. REAL, in his fragments on the life of AUGUSTUS, is mistaken in his chronology, when he says AGRIPPA was married to JULIA immediately after the defeat of the younger POMPEY, which happened in the year of Rome 718; for she could only be four years old at that time, AUGUSTUS having married SCRIBONIA her mother in 713.

(k) Marco Agrippæ nuptum dedit Juliam, exorata sorore, ut sibi genero cederet. SÜETON. *Vit. August.* Chap. 63.

MÆCENAS thereupon; "AGRIPPA, my lord, is
 "so powerful," replied the favourite, with his usual
 openness, "that you must either make him your
 "son-in-law, or dispatch him out of the way."

THE emperor, on his return from *Syria*, passed
 thro' *Athens*, and brought VIRGIL back with him
 into *Italy*. This admirable poet died in *Calabria*,
 and appointed AUGUSTUS and MÆCENAS his
 heirs in part, out of gratitude for the many fa-
 vours they had conferred on him. He always
 had held a literary correspondence with them,
 an honour he greatly deserved; and which his
 illustrious patrons, in their turn, esteemed as one
 done to themselves.

AUGUSTUS and AGRIPPA now ordered the
 grand Secular games to be celebrated at *Rome* (l),

(l) THE Secular games were instituted in the year
 of *Rome* 245, after the expulsion of the Tarquins, by
 the consul VALERIUS PUBLICOLA, to appease the an-
 ger of the gods, after the city had been afflicted with
 the plague. These games were interdicted by the Si-
 bylline oracle, which ordained, that they should be so-
 lemnized every 110 Years only; this however was not
 always punctually observed. AUGUSTUS kept them in
 the year of *Rome* 737, and the emperor CLAUDIUS
 in the year 800, because it was the beginning of a
 century. SÜETONIUS, in his life of CLAUDIUS,
 Chap. 21. relates the people's mirth upon this occasion;
 for they were invited, according to the ancient custom,
 to come and assist at these games, which never
 were, and never would be seen again—since many
 then lived, who had been present at those given by
 AUGUSTUS. Quare vox præconis irrita est invitantis
 more solenni ad ludos, quos nec spectasset quisquam nec
 spectaturus esset: cum superessent adhuc qui spectave-
 which

which were solemnised once in a hundred years. MÆCENAS was a great admirer of public shews; rant, & quidam histrionum producti olim, tunc quoque producerentur. MORERI, in his dictionary, under the article of SECULAR GAMES, is mistaken, to fix this jest upon DOMITIAN, when in reality SUETONIUS speaks of the games of CLAUDIUS. It is true, the people had more reason to be merry at those of DOMITIAN, if the same proclamation was issued as at the former, because they were celebrated but forty years after. The most magnificent games were solemnized in the year Rome 1000, by the emperor PHILIP. This feast was kept three days and three nights, in the beginning of harvest. Sacrifices were offered to all the Gods. But these games were more particularly sacred to APOLLO and DIANA. HORACE wrote the secular Ode to be sung at these feasts by the special command of AUGUSTUS.

*Phœbe, silvarumque potens Diana,
Lucidum cœli decus, ô colendi
Semper, & culti, date quæ precamur
Tempore sacro.*

*Quo Sibyllini monuere versus
Virgines lectas, puerosque castos
Diis, quibus septem placuere colles,
Dicere carmen.*

Carm. Secul.

Ye radiant glories of the skies,
Ever-beaming God of light,
Sweetly-shining Queen of night;
Beneath whose wrath the wood-born savage dies;
Ye Pow'rs, to whom with endless praise
A grateful world its homage pays;
Let our pray'r, our pray'r be heard,
Now in this solemn hour preferr'd,
When by the Sibyl's dread command,
Of spotless maids a chosen train,
Of spotless youths a chosen band,
To all our guardian Gods uplift the hallow'd strain.

FRANCIS.

it

it suited the *Roman* taste. The emperor honoured them with his presence, both out of inclination as well as policy; his favourite advised him to give frequent entertainments of that sort; and to assist at them himself, in order to gain the people's affections, to divert them from their seditious contrivances by such like amusements, and to make them more obedient to his laws (*m*).

THE same year AUGUSTUS made a voyage into *Gaul*, at that time infested by the *Germans*, under pretence to restore peace; but it was in effect to avoid becoming odious to the people, by staying too long at *Rome*, in punishing the disobedient, or being constrained to weaken the laws authority, by too much indulgence and lenity. Some conjectured this voyage was undertaken upon TERENTIA's account only, in order to enjoy her company more conveniently (*n*). She was one of the finest women of the age, but so vain of her beauty, that she even dared to dis-

(*m*) WE have a fine answer, which was made AUGUSTUS by the famous PYLADES, out of DION CASSIUS, B. liv. This player, having a dispute with BATHYLLUS his competitor, the quarrel occasioned some disturbance among the people who were present at the shew. The emperor expressed himself angrily to PYLADES upon that occasion, who replied, Συμφέρει σοι, Καῖσαρ, πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἢ δῆμον λυπεῖσθαι, Expedit tibi, Cæsar, circa nos populum tempus terere.

(*n*) TERENTIA was a sister of PROCULEIUS, eminent for his fraternal love, and of LICINIUS MURENA, who conspired against AUGUSTUS. It is highly probable that it is she, whom HORACE celebrates so much

pute it with LIVIA. Gay, extravagant, and ill-natured, there often arose misunderstandings between her and MÆCENAS: They often parted, but not for any time; the fond husband was neither easy with nor without her, which made SE-

for beauty and qualifications, and calls by the name of LICINIA, and that MÆCENAS was so extravagantly fond of before he married her:

Me dulces dominæ Musa Licymniæ

Cantus, me voluit dicere lucidum

Fulgentes oculos, & benè mutuis

Fidum pectus amoribus:

Num tu, quæ tenuit dives Achæmenes,

Aut pinguis Phrygiæ Mygdoniæ opes,

Permutare velis crine Liciniæ,

Plenas aut Arabum domos?

Ode xii. B. ii.

LICYMNIA's voice, LICYMNIA's eye,

Bright darting its resplendent ray,

The breast where love and friendship lie,

The Muse commands me sing in softer lay.

Say, shall the wealth by kings possess,

Or the rich diadems they wear,

Or all the treasure of the east,

Purchase one lock of my LICYMNIA's hair?

FRANCIS.

He mentions his patron's love for this woman in another place, where he compares her to HELEN for beauty:

Ureris ipse miser: quod si non pulcrior ignis

Accendit obsessam Ilion,

Gaude sorte tua.

Epod. Ode xiv.

So great was his fondness for her, that he used to compare her, according to DION CASSIUS, to LIVIA for beauty.

ἔγω γὰρ ἐν πάντι αὐτῆς ἥρα, ὥσε καὶ ἀγωνίσασθαι ποτὲ αὐτῇ περὶ τῆ κάλλους πρὸς τῇ Λιβίαν ποιῆσαι. B. liv.

NECA say of him, that he had been a thousand times married, though he had but one wife: *Hunc esse, qui uxorem millies duxit, cum unam habuerit.* It is not likely he overlooked this familiarity, for DION CASSIUS informs us, that MÆCENAS fell out with AUGUSTUS upon that account.

THE emperor appointed STATILIUS TAURUS prefect of *Rome* before his departure; because AGRIPPA was in the east, and MÆCENAS was of the party that were to attend him into *Gaul*. DION CASSIUS pretends, that AUGUSTUS was a little prejudiced against his favourite, because he would not complaisantly wink at his amorous intercourses with TERENTIA; but in fact the reason why he would not re-accept of the government of *Rome* (a trust of which he was so highly capable) is, he loved a quiet life, and desired nothing more than his ease after so many fatigues. TAURUS came in by the interest of MÆCENAS. He had advised AUGUSTUS to make none prefect but who had first passed thro' all the other civil employments (which was previously necessary to this) to govern, and to dispense justice in *Rome*, and out of the city to a certain district, during his absence. Thus the modest favourite, who had it in his power to engross all places to himself, rather chose to bestow the most honourable posts in the empire on others, satisfied with his equestrian dignity (o).

(o) PROPERTIUS has given us a very fine description of the modesty of MÆCENAS, who never was anxious

THE

THE emperor staid three years in *Gaul*; and Y. of R. having re-established peace, returned to *Rome*. 742.

The year following AGRIPPA, on his return from PANNONIA where he had been to quell the rebellion, died in *Campania*; he was a man of great honesty, and the greatest captain in his

about honours and titles, and was always faithful to AUGUSTUS.

*At tua, Mæcenas, vitæ præcepta recepi,
Cogor & exemplis te superare tuis.*

Quum tibi Romano dominas in honore secures,

Et liceat medio ponere jura foro:

Vel tibi Medorum pugnaces ire per hostes,

Atque onerare tuam fixa per arma domum:

Et tibi ad effectum vires det Cæsar, & omni

Tempore tam faciles insinuentur opes:

Parcis, & in tenues humilem te colligis umbras,

Velorum plenos subtrahis ipse sinus.

Crede mihi magnos æquabunt ista Camillos

Judicia, & venies tu quoque in ora virum:

Cæsaris & famæ vestigia juncta tenebis.

Mæcenatis erunt vera trophæa fides. L. iii. Eleg. viii.

DION CASSIUS, in his 1vth book, speaking of the good qualities of MÆCENAS, says, Virtutis Mæcenatis maximum indicium fuit, quod Augusti cupiditatibus cum resisteret, tamen ab eo inter familiares habitus, reliquis omnibus se probavit; & quod cum plurimum apud illum posset, adeo ut ab eo multos honores & magistratus impetraret, tamen animo nihil elatus, in equestri statu vitam exegerit.

VELLEIUS gives us the same testimonials of his modesty—Non minus Agrippâ Cæsari carus [Mæcenas] sed minus honoratus: quippe vixit angusto clavo pœne contentus; nec majora consequi non potuit, sed non tam concupivit.

THE order of knights was next to the senatorial,
F 2 time,

time. His actions were a proof that *true nobility* consisted in *virtue* only, since, descended from an obscure family, his valour and conduct had raised him to the highest dignity and honour. AUGUSTUS and MÆCENAS were but too sensible of their loss in so valuable a friend. The emperor in particular lost one of the steddier and firmest props of his throne. Informed of his indisposition, AUGUSTUS hastened away to see him, but he was dead before he could arrive. His body was transported to *Rome*, where he was buried with the utmost magnificence, and AUGUSTUS himself publicly pronounced his funeral oration.

MÆCENAS was now advancing in years; but the grey hairs of a great minister, and a man of learning, are venerable: he passed the remainder of his days in an agreeable ease, in the pleasing conversation of those illustrious friends he had so happily selected. Nor had he been wanting in his respect to the *Roman* ladies, whose wit and beauty made them the ornaments of all polite companies. MÆCENAS is even accused of having carried his gallantries a little too far. *Rome*,

and was the second rank of nobility among the *Romans*. They were called *Equites*, because the commonwealth presented them with a horse and a gold ring. They wore a robe like unto that of the senators, tufted with gold or purple, with this difference only, that the studs on the tufts of knights were smaller than those of the senators: this is what is meant by the *latus clavus*, *angustus clavus*.

in those days, had her *contented* husbands. GALBA having invited MÆCENAS to supper, and perceiving his guest to ogle his wife, very complaisantly feigned himself asleep (*p*): a servant imagining his master really so, went up to the buffet in order to help himself to some wine; “ Rascal, said GALBA, can’t you see that it is “ for MÆCENAS only that I sleep?” He is suspected to have been one of the celebrated JULIA’s gallants, a conquest of no great difficulty indeed: It is even surmised, that his passion for that lady, was the cause of OVID’s banishment, who unluckily happened to be one of his rivals. And this conjecture has the more probability, as we do not find the name of MÆCENAS so much as once mentioned in the works of that poet (*q*). DION tells us, that this favourite minister made

(*p*) JUVENAL, Satire first, mentions a person who imitated GALBA in this, and pretended sleep in complaisance to his wife and her gallant:

*Doctus spectare lacunar,
Doctus & ad calicem vigilant! stertere naso.*

Who his taught eyes up to the cieling throws,
And sleeps all over, but his wakeful nose. DRYDEN.

(*q*) IF OVID takes no notice of MÆCENAS in his works, we must not thence conclude that they were rivals, and that this rivalship was the occasion of his banishment, as some people suspected, according to LILIUS GYRALDUS *Dialog.* iv. Sunt & qui de Mæcenate nihil non suspicentur, quem quod nunquam nominavit, nescio quid de Julia confingunt. But this silence might have been owing to a different cause: He might

The Life of MÆCENAS.

no scruple to plead, in conjunction with APULLEIUS, the cause of a person charged with adultery. This however could do neither of them honour: AUGUSTUS came into court on the day of replication, and being seated in the *prætor's* tribunal, he ordered the plaintiff to manage his expressions, and not to throw reflections upon his friends and relations.

MÆCENAS, if we may credit TACITUS, towards the decline of his life, lost much of the emperor's favour. This happens frequently, says the historian, through the inconstancy of fortune; because princes, either tired of their favourites, when once they have exhausted their favours upon them, or that their favourites are cloyed with their own happy enjoyments, when they have no more to ask (*r*). But these are the reflections of a politician; the reason of this coolness between them is not known; we are sure however, they were soon reconciled: AUGUSTUS's friends never lost their rank or

not probably have known MÆCENAS, no more than he did VIRGIL, whom he had only seen:

Virgilium vidi tantum: nec avara Tibullo

Tempus amicitiae fata dedere meæ.

Trist. B. iv. Eleg. x.

(*r*) IDQUE & Mæcenati acciderat: fato potentia raro sempiternæ: an satias capit, aut illos cum omnia tribuerunt, aut hos, cum jam nihil reliquum est quod cupiant. *Ann. L. iii. chap. 30.*

power,

power, except RUFUS and CORNELIUS GAL-
LUS(*s*). MÆCENAS, for his part, was ever
attached to his master, and devoted to his service.
He never forgot to make AUGUSTUS a present
yearly on his birth day (*t*); who, whenever he
was indisposed, always resided with his favourite
till he was recovered (*u*). This prevailing cus-
tom among the antients, shews in how sacred a
light they held friendship. The house of MÆ-
CENAS, though situated on the (*x*) *Esquilin* hill,

(*s*) See SÜETONIUS, Chap. 66.

(*t*) IT was an ancient custom with the *Romans* to
send presents to their friends on their birth days: A Mæ-
cenate suo familiari Augustus quotannis natali die Phia-
lam accipiebat donariam. PLUT. in *Apopht. Reg. &*
Princ. They also made their emperors a present every
new year's day; and what at first was a custom only,
became at length a law under the emperors ARCADIVS
and HONORIUS. Lege unicâ, *Cod. B. xii. tit. 49. De*
oblatione votorum. Quando votis communibus felix
annus aperitur, in unâ librâ auri & solidis obryzatis prin-
cipibus offerendi devotionem animo libenti suscipimus:
statuentes, ut deinceps sequentibus annis unius cujusque
sedulitas principibus suis talia inferat semper & deferat.
Dat. 3. nonas Mart. Med. Olybrio & Probino Coss.

(*u*) THE *Romans*, when they were sick, were ac-
customed to be conveyed to their friends houses in order
to their recovery. SÜETONIUS, agreeably to this, says,
Æger Augustus in domo Mæcenatis cubabat. And
PLINY the younger, in his xviith Epist. B. vii. speaking
of his intimate friend CALESTRIUS TYRO, Ego, says
he, in villas ejus sæpe secessi, ille in domo meâ sæpe
convaleuit; and PLUTARCH in his *Apopht.* Chap. 28.
Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγυς τὰ ποικίλα ὄντα τοῖς φίλοις ἐδείπνει
καὶ ἐκὰθ' αὐτοῦ.

(*x*) Monte di S. Maria maggiore.

was nevertheless raised higher, and was spacious and magnificently built (y). The roof shone with gold; the walls were of the finest marble; the floor answered to the grandeur of the cielings, and the furniture was equally superb with the whole. Here he gave the most elegant and delicate entertainments, which for taste, fancy, and novelty (z) were inimitable. His table was served with the finest and most delicious wines, among which there was one of *Italian* growth,

(y) THE ninth Ode of the Epodes of HORACE, informs us, that the house of MÆCENAS was raised,

*Quando repostum cæcubum ad festas dapes
Victore lætus Cæsare,
Tecum sub alta (sic Jovi gratum) domo,
Beate Mæcenas, bibam?*

When shall we quaff, my lord, the flowing wine,
Reserv'd for pious feasts, and joys divine?
CÆSAR with conquest comes; and gracious JOVE,
Who gave that conquest, shall our joys approve.

FRANCIS.

The house and tower of MÆCENAS, according to some, are one and the same building. HORACE, B. iii. Ode xxix. describes the prodigious height of this tower:

*Fastidiosam desere copiam,
Molem propinquam nubibus arduis:
Omitte mirari beatæ*

Fumum & opes strepitumque Romæ.

NERO beheld the desolation of *Rome*, which he had set on fire, from the top of this tower—Hoc incendium e turri Mæcenatianâ prospectans, lætusque flammæ, ut aiebat, pulchritudine, αλωσιν Ilii in illo suo scenico habitu decantavit, says SÆTONTIUS, in his *Life of Nero*.

(z) Pullos earum epulari Mæcenas instituit, &c. PLIN. B. viii. chap. 43.

to which it is imagined he gave his own name. He dressed very fine, and generally wore a purple robe with a long train, and often walked with AUGUSTUS and his other friends in his sumptuous gardens, adjoining to his house, ornamented with statues of the best sculptor. The emperor, with the consent of the senate and people, had given him the ground (a). There was, according to antient custom, a small temple in his gardens, consecrated to PRIAPUS, on the walls of which

(a) THE spot of ground given to MÆCENAS, to lay out in gardens, had formerly been a burying place, where the bodies of the common people, and of those who had squandered away their estates, were confusedly interred; it was for that reason the air was unwholesome there, and its neighbourhood infectious and troublesome to Rome:

*Huc prius angustis ejecta cadavera cellis
Conservus vili portanda locabat in arca:
Hic miseræ plebi stabat commune sepulcrum,
Pantolabo scurræ, Nomentanoque nepoti.*

*Nunc licet Esquilis habitare salubribus, atque
Aggere in aprico spatium: quâ modo tristes
Albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum.*

HOR. B. i. S. viii.

In coffins vile the herd of slaves
Were hither brought to croud their graves;
And once in this detested ground
A common tomb the vulgar found;
Buffoons and spendthrifts, vile and base,
Together rotted here in peace.

But now we breathe a purer air,
And walk the sunny terraces fair,
Where once the ground with bones was white,
With human bones, a ghastly sight,
FRANCIS.
the

the poets, who paid their court to MÆCENAS, used to write verses in a style suitable to the divinity of the place (*b*); MÆCENAS collected and published them under the title of PRIAPI, which some have unjustly ascribed to VIRGIL, others to OVID and MARTIAL. He also built a tower of a prodigious height, from whence he had a full prospect of the city and circumjacent places. It was from this summit the cruel NERO beheld *Rome* in flames. It is however doubted whether this house and tower were not one and the same building. It is to his happy leisure we owe (besides his literary works, of which we have already spoken) the invention of notes, or short-hand, for the conveniency of dispatch (*c*); he published the

(*b*) ERAT in his hortis (says LILIUS GYRALDUS, *Dial.* iv.) Priapi sacellum, ut scitis morem antiquis fuisse, teste etiam Columella, ad quod convenientes poetæ pro re & loco carmina affigebant, ut hoc tempore Romæ quotannis Paschillo, quæ jussu Mæcenatis a Vergilio collecta, nunc Vergilii nomine circumferuntur—Quod ut illa Vergilii non esse existimem—quod is fuit Vergilius qui ob verecundos & virginales mores, vulgo ut paulò ante dicebamus, Parthenias est appellatus. Ab aliis Ovidio Nasoni ascribuntur.

(*c*) THE short-hand, quibus, quamvis citata excipitur oratio, & celeritatem linguæ manus sequitur, says SENECA, was invented upon account of the secretaries of the senate house: by which means they easily collected the speeches that were made there, and for this they were called Notaries. They were also called Cursores, quia notis verba cursim expediebant. Authors are not agreed upon the first inventor of this method of short-hand writing. Some pretend it was the poet ENNIUS, others affirm it was TYRO, CICERO's freeman; and that AQUILA, a freeman belonging to MÆCENAS, after

method and instructions, with the care and assistance of his freeman AQUILA. He also introduced warm baths into Rome (d) for the public use. They were large reservoirs filled with warm water, in which they could swim as well as bathe; wards made farther improvements. SENECA the elder at length collected and put them into some order, and published them under the title of *Notæ Tullii Tyronis & Annaei Senecæ, sive Characteres, quibus utebantur Romani in scripturâ compendiariâ*. This short-hand was invented, says SENECA the philosopher, in his xcth Epistle, by a parcel of vile slaves—*Quid verborum notas, quibus quamvis citata excipitur oratio, & celeritatem linguæ manus sequitur? Vilissimorum mancipiorum ista commenta sunt.* DION CASSIUS however fairly attributes it to MÆCENAS, καὶ πρῶτος Μαικίνας, says he, σημεῖα τινὰ γραμμάτων πρὸς τάχος ἐξεῦρε, καὶ αὐτὰ διὰ Ακύλῃ ἀπελευθέρῳ συχνὲς ἐξεδίδαξε.

(d) MÆCENAS was also the first to introduce hot baths at Rome, according to DION. — πρῶτός τε κολυμήθραν θερμῷ ὕδατος ἐν τῇ πόλει καλεσκόσασε. SYLBURGIUS suspects this historian to have mistaken MÆCENAS for AGRIPPA, because the Latin authors only mention the latter: but DION, who lived towards the latter end of the second century, and the beginning of the third, is an author of no bad authority. The cold baths were of a much older date. There were public ones for the people to bathe and learn to swim in. VEGETIUS, *De Milit. Roman.* B. i. chap. 10. mentions this, and shews the usefulness of it to soldiers. History tells us, it saved JULIUS CÆSAR in his *Alexandrian* expedition. The field of Mars was near the banks of the Tiber: the Romans, after having gone through their military exercises, bathed in this river. The Roman youth without distinction learnt to swim. SÆTONIUS, talking of AUGUSTUS, Chap. 64. says, *Nepotes, & litteras & natare aliaque rudimenta per se plerumque docuit.* He farther observes, that CALIGULA could not swim,

a common custom with the *Romans* for the preservation of their health, and particularly useful to military men. He was mighty curious in pearls and other precious stones, which THALATIION, another of his freemen, engraved and set in gold for him. He loved walking, and in order to preserve his health played at tennis (e),
Atque hic, tam docilis ad cætera, natare nesciit. Life of Calig. Chap. 54. The ancients bathed before meals, and generally used some exercise previous to it.

(e) TENNIS was one of MÆCENAS's exercises; we remark this in HORACE, when he is giving a description of their voyage to *Brundisium*. He farther observes, that VIRGIL and he were not fond of this game, for the reasons he there assigns:

Hinc muli Capuæ clitellas tempore ponunt.

Lusum it Mæcenas, dormitum ego, Virgiliusque :

Namque pila lippis inimicum & ludere crudis.

Sat. v. B. i.

Early next morn to *Capua* we came;

MÆCENAS goes to Tennis; hurtful game

To a weak appetite, and tender eyes;

So down to sleep with VIRGIL FLACCUS lies.

FRANCIS.

We are here to observe, that it was Fives the *Romans* and *Greeks* used to play at: they used four different sorts of balls. 1. *Trigonalis*, parva, quam tres lusores, figurâ trigonem exprimente, distincti sibi invicem reddebant. 2. *Harpastum*, parva item pila e corio facta, quam, solo percussam, raptam revocabant, unde nomen ab ἀρπάζω, rapio. 3. *Follis*, magna pila, ex alutâ confecta, & vento distenta; si major brachiis, si minor pugnâ impelli solita. 4. *Paganica*, quâ in pagis ludebatur, & farciebatur plumâ. MARTIAL describes this last B. xiv. Epig. xlv.

Hæc quæ difficilis turget Paganica plumâ,

Folle minus laxa est, & minus arcta pilâ.

See the same poet, B. iv. Epig. xix. B. vii. Epig. xxxi.

This game took its appellation from the palm of the

He

in imitation of AUGUSTUS (*f*), who was fond of this exercise. Amidst these amusements and pleasures of all kinds, he finished his course: he was always subject to a fever (*g*), and for the three last years of his life was much troubled with a continual watching, occasioned probably by his past fatigues, and not, as SENECA says, who was a perpetual critic of the actions of this great man, by jealousy from the misconduct of his wife TERENCE (*b*). Instruments of music and the murmuring of waters (*i*) were the hand, with which they were at first accustomed to strike the ball; this custom even prevails still, in many places.

(*f*) See SUTTON. *Life of Augustus*, Chap. 83.

(*g*) PLINY takes notice of the fever and incapacity of sleeping, with which MÆCENAS was afflicted: Quibusdam perpetua febris est, ut C. Mæcenati: eidem triennio supremo, nullo horæ momento contigit somnus. He adds the following example: Antipater Sidonius poeta omnibus annis, uno die tantum natali, corripiebatur febre & eo consumptus est satis longâ senectâ. B. vii. ch. 51.

(*b*) FELICIOREM ergo tu Mæcenatem putas, cui amoribus anxio, & morosæ uxoris quotidiana repudia deslenti, somnus per symphoniarum cantum ex longinquo bene resonantium quæritur? *De provident.* Chap. 3.

(*i*) THE method MÆCENAS took to remove his want of sleep, was not at all particular to himself. Every body knows, that the fall of waters will invite us to repose; HORACE describes this very elegantly in his second Ode of the Epod.

Labuntur altis interim ripis aquæ;

Queruntur in silvis aves;

Fontesque lymphis obstrepunt manantibus,

Somnos quod invitet leves.

remedies

remedies he applied to for this disorder; SENECA again adds, *to wine also, and all manner of voluptuousness*. HORACE, however, contradicts this assertion, and gives us an account of his sobriety. The sumptuous entertainments he gave, were more for his friends than himself. It became a man of his rank and fortune, a prefect of *Rome*, and the favourite of the emperor of the world, to keep a splendid table; but he was better pleased with the conversation of his illustrious guests, than with any other part of his feasts; and he very frequently partook of their frugal repasts. A wise *Epicurean*, he loved pleasure in

Where pours the mountain stream along,
And feather'd warblers chant the soothing song;
Or where the lucid fountain flows,
And with its murmurs courts him to repose.

CELSUS, a celebrated physician, who lived in the reign of TIBERIUS, recommends the same thing: *Confert etiam aliquid ad somnum Silanus juxta cadens*. As to the music, it has the self same effect, and another advantage, of agreeably enlivening the spirits, and giving new vigour, when we return to business. Pythagoreis, says QUINTILIAN, B. ix. chap. 4. *Inst. Orat. moris fuit, & cum evigilassent animos ad lyram excitare, quo essent ad agendum erectiores: & cum somnum peterent ad eandem prius lenire mentes, ut si quid fuisset turbidiorum cogitationum componerent*. CENSORINUS, *De die Natal.* Chap. 12. says the same thing of PYTHAGORAS. The wise *Indians*, as PHILOSTRATUS reports in his *Vit. Apollon.* B. ii. chap. 14. conducted their kings to rest with the sound of instruments. MONTAGNE says the same thing of his father: "He used to
" have me waked by the sound of some instrument, and
" never was without a servant to attend me for that
" purpose." *Essays*, B. i. chap. 25.

moderation. DION mentions the advice he gave the emperor upon that subject (k). This severe Stoic was the only person who taxes him with drunkenness and debauchery. All men know what a natural tendency music, and the agreeable noise of fountains have, to engage us to repose, besides, his friend ANTONIUS MUSA (l),

(k) DION CASSIUS mentions the advice which MÆCENAS used to give AUGUSTUS concerning frugality and œconomy: he exhorts his prince, ut continenter vivat, nihilque prodigere videatur: sed domui parcimoniâ, in Rempublicam liberalitate utatur. HORACE in several of his Odes invites his MÆCENAS to a frugal entertainment,

*Plerumque gratæ divitibus vices,
Mundæque parvo sub lare pauperum,
Cœnæ, sine aulæis & ostro,
Sollicitam explicuere frontem.* B. iii. Ode xxix.

To frugal treats, and humble cells,
With grateful change the wealthy fly,
Where health-preserving plainness dwells,
Far from the carpet's gaudy dye.
Such scenes have charm'd the pangs of care,
And smooth'd the clouded forehead of despair.

FRANCIS,

(l) ANTONIUS MUSA, a freeman of AUGUSTUS, having recovered him from a dangerous disorder, was loaded with honours, and had a statue of brass erected to him by his prince next to that of ÆSCULAPIUS. He and the rest of the brethren of the faculty were made freemen of Rome, and, like those of the Equestrian order, had the prerogative of wearing a gold ring; this happened in the year of Rome 730. Medico Antonio Musæ, cujus opera ex ancipiti morbo convaluerat, statuam, ære collato, juxta signum Æsculapii statuerunt, says physician

physician to AUGUSTUS, may no doubt have recommended them to him. SENECA was therefore highly to blame to reproach MÆCENAS, and to pretend that these were the indulgencies of a luxurious and an effeminate taste; he ought surely to have known that the *Gymnosophists*, and PYTHAGORAS himself, were every night lulled to sleep with the sound of instruments.

THE care MÆCENAS took to recover his health, could not secure him; he died in *August* the year of *Rome* 745, in the twentieth year of AUGUSTUS's reign, counting from the day upon which he was declared sovereign of the world; and nine years before the birth of our LORD JESUS CHRIST. We cannot precisely determine how long he lived, for we are ignorant as to the year of his birth; PEDO, his panegyrist and cotemporary, says, he died pretty old, it is therefore more than likely that he lived to be sixty at least (*m*).

SUETONIUS in his *Life of Augustus*, Chap. 89. and DION CASSIUS observes, Καὶ Ἄφ' τῆς καὶ χρηματίας καὶ τῆς Αὐγύστης, καὶ κατὰ τὴν βαλῆς ποταμῶν, καὶ τὸ χρυσοῖς δακτυλίοις χρῆσθ'· τίμω τε αἰτέλειαν καὶ ἐαυτῶν, καὶ τοῖς ὁμολέχοις, ὥστε ὅτι τοῖς τότε ἔσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπειτα ἐσομένοις ἔλαβεν. B. liii.

(*m*) SEVERAL passages in PEDO help to prove that MÆCENAS was aged:

Desferam juvenis tristi modo carmine fata :
Sunt etiam merito carmina danda seni.

Nunc pretium candoris habes, nunc redditus umbris,
Te sumus obliti decubuisse senem.

THE emperor went constantly to see him during his sickness, and was present when he breathed his last. In his dying moments he recommended his dear HORACE to the prince, “Remember HORATIUS FLACCUS, said he, as you would MÆCENAS.” A few days before his death he made AUGUSTUS sole heir to all his estate, and, excepting some few trifling legacies, left it to his option, to make such distributions as he pleased amongst his friends. He had no children by TERENCE (n), and in him the noble race of the ancient *Etrurian* KINGS became extinct. His ashes were laid in his magnificent gardens, and HORACE, who died the same year (o)

(n) SOME were of opinion, that MÆCENAS had a son by TERENCE, who died young; but this is conjectural only. PEDO might be lamenting the loss of some other youth.

(o) TURNEBUS will have it, that HORACE died before MÆCENAS, see his *Adv. B. xx. chap. 2.* But this is a mistake; and SÆTON, in his life of this poet, asserts the contrary. MÆCENAS recommended him with his dying words to the emperor: “Horatii Flacci, ut mei, esto memor.” HORACE loved his MÆCENAS so tenderly as to wish to accompany him even in death:

Nec Diis amicum est, nec mihi, te prius

Obire, Mæcenas, mearum

Grande decus columénque rerum.

Ab te meæ si partem animæ rapit

Maturior vis: quid moror alierâ?

Nec charus æquè, nec superstes

Integer: ille dies utramque

Ducet ruinam.

B. ii. Ode xvii.

was buried near the dear remains of his patron and benefactor.

THE death of MÆCENAS was an irreparable loss to AUGUSTUS. It deprived him at once of an able and a penetrating *minister*, a discreet *confident*, a sincere and a disinterested friend. Never was favourite more attached to his prince. He was so highly in his master's affection and confidence, that he could, without risking his displeasure, charge him home with all his faults, and oppose him in his sentiments when they were not consistent with his honour and interest. In attending to the advice of his judicious friend, AUGUSTUS gained the love of the *Romans*. And he too soon after his death found the want of his

Why will MÆCENAS thus complain,
And kill me with th'unkindly strain?
Nor can the Gods nor I consent,
That you, my life's great ornament,
Should sink untimely to the tomb,
While I survive the fatal doom.
Should you, alas, be snatch'd away,
Wherefore, ah! wherefore should I stay,
My value lost no longer whole,
And but possessing half my soul?
One day, believe the sacred oath,
Shall lead the fun'ral pomp of both.

FRANCIS.

He survived his benefactor but three months, and died the 27th of *November*, the year of *Rome* 745, at the age of fifty nine. MÆCENAS died the *August* before. It was in this year that AUGUSTUS called the sixth month by his name, which had been before styled *SEXTILIS*.

counsels.

counsels. For notwithstanding the politics with which he so much prided himself, he committed frequent errors. Having once inconsiderately in the public senate-house, declaimed against the misconduct of his daughters (p), and reflecting afterwards on his imprudence in publishing their infamy, which but retorted shame on himself, “ I should not, said he, have done this, had my “ friends AGRIPPA and MÆCENAS been liv- “ ing (q).” So difficult was it to repair the loss of *two men only*, though he had millions under his obedience. His legions, says SENECA (r), being cut to pieces, he recruited his troops; his fleet, destroyed by storms, was soon refitted; public edifices, consumed by flames, were rebuilt with greater magnificence; but he could

(p) SENECA *De benef.* B. vi. chap. 32.

(q) AUGUSTUS ought to have taken the wise steps of his great-uncle in a case nearly parallel. JULIUS CÆSAR being called upon to give in evidence against CLODIUS his wife’s gallant, whom he had divorced, denied his knowledge of any criminal conversation between them, tho’ his mother AURELIA and his sister JULIA deposed the truth before the judges; and when he was asked, why then had he put away his wife? “ It “ is not, replied CÆSAR, sufficient that my wife should “ be guiltless, but it is even necessary she should conduct “ herself so, as not to be suspected;” *quoniam meos tam suspicione, quam crimine judico carere oportere.* SUTTON. *Life of Jul.* Chap. 74.—ὅτι τὴν Καίσαρος γυναῖκα ἢ διαβολῆς δεῖ καθαράν εἶναι. PLUTARCH.

(r) SENECA *De benef.* B. vi. chap. 32.

never find two men like AGRIPPA and MÆCENAS, capable of discharging those places with which they had been entrusted.

NOR was MÆCENAS less regretted by the *Literati*; they never had so generous a patron: He prevented their wants, and loaded them with favours; but his bounties were bestowed rationally and judiciously on persons whose talents and abilities deserved his generous attention. To HIM and to his noble *disposition*, we owe those inestimable works, which, though few, make us the more regret the rest, which the frequent revolutions in the *Roman* empire, and the barbarism of the succeeding ages of ignorance and stupidity, have so unfortunately robb'd us of. But for him VIRGIL, oppressed by ARIUS the centurion, had never tun'd his lyre (s); nor HORACE raised his

(s) JUVENAL, in his viith Satire, shews how necessary a patron is to the Muses:

*Magræ mentis opus, nec de lodice paranda
Attonitæ, currus & equos, facesque Deorum
Aspicere, & qualis Rutulum confundat Erinnyes.
Nam si Virgilio puer, & tolerabile desit
Hospitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydri:
Surda nihil gemeret grave buccina.*

'Tis not for hungry wit, with wants controul'd,
The face of Jove in council to behold:
Or fierce ALECTO, when her brand she toss'd
Betwixt the *Trojan* and *Rutilian* host.
If VIRGIL's suit MÆCENAS had not sped,
And sent ALEXIS to the poet's bed,

voice. MÆCENAS was not content with protecting them, but he introduced these great men to his master also, and recommended them, as persons deserving of his notice and royal bounties. MÆCENAS had a great and generous cast of thought, and (far unlike those uneasy courtiers, who swell at every little favour bestowed on any but themselves) was not jealous that others had a free access to the emperor.

HAVING given a detail of all the excellent virtues and valuable qualifications of my *Hero*; it will not be improper just to mention a few of the faults that are imputed to him: The accuracy and truth, which is required from an historian, oblige me not to pass them over in silence. SENECA, who most censured him, charges him with having been too expensive in his buildings and furniture, too profuse in his table, too extravagant in his dress: he taxes him with effeminacy, and affectation in his walk, and that he had appeared in public without his fash (*t*), attend-

The crested snakes had dropt upon the ground,
And the loud trumpet languish'd in the sound.

CHAR. DRYDEN.

(*t*) THE *Romans* wore a girdle, and tucked up their robes, when they walked or were in action. Those who wore them loose and training, were accounted fops and effeminate. For this reason they used to call brave men *cincti*, and cowards were distinguished by the name of *discincti*. MÆCENAS was above all these reflections. SENECA, in his cxiivth epistle, doth not forget to reproach him with this, and blames him for having even

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ed by two eunuchs; he accuses him with his continual divisions and divorces with TERENTIA. He has been also blamed for countenancing players and dancers, and suffering (u) parasites to follow him continually, though uninvited, wherever he went, as shadows which are inseparable from the body. He has even been ridiculed for his unlimited passion for precious stones and pearls. Envy ever attends the great. Most of these imputations are frivolous and idle, and have no foundation but in the brains of these *cavilists*. SENECA was a crabbed and au-

given into it, while he was regent in AUGUSTUS's absence; and farther, because he permitted two eunuchs to attend him abroad, and administered justice, and harangued the people in the tribunal, his head all the time covered with a cloak. This philosopher however is too nice. Justice was not the worse administered, nor Rome the less tranquil. MÆCENAS might probably be obliged to take these necessary precautions upon account of his weak constitution. SENECA himself allows that he was of a sweet, humane, and modest disposition, and had every essential qualification which constitutes the honest man. MÆCENAS had his envious cotemporaries, who were used to censure his conduct. PEDO, in his *Epicedium*, answers one of them in the following manner:

*Invide, quid tandem tunicæ nocuere solutæ?
Aut tibi ventosi quid nocuere sinus?
Num minus urbis erat custos, & Cæsaris obses?
Num tibi non tutas fecit in urbe vias?
Nocte sub obscurâ quis te spoliavit amantem?
Quis tetigit ferro, durior ipse, latus?*

(u) THE reproach with which MÆCENAS is branded for encouraging parasites, is owing to a letter from AUGUSTUS to him, as mentioned by SÆTONTIUS.

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stere *Stoic*, an insolent enemy of *EPICURUS*, and enlarged objects as they best suited his humour. The severity of this philosopher made it

Ante ipse sufficiebam scribendis epistolis amicorum: nunc occupatissimus & infirmus. Horatium nostrum te cupio adducere. Veniet igitur ab istâ parasiticâ mensâ ad hanc regiam, & nos in epistolis scribendis adjuvabit.— These sort of vermin, says HORACE B. ii. Sat. viii. followed MÆCENAS. He is describing the entertainment given by NASIDIENUS, where he attended MÆCENAS, who brought SERVILIUS and VIBIDIUS along with him,

Quos Mæcenas adduxerat umbras.

We cannot suppose MÆCENAS made a practice of encouraging such gentry, they were probably a brace of impertinents, who were determined to haunt him in spite of himself; and this is the more credible, if we recollect what HORACE says of MÆCENAS' nicety in the choice of his friends and their abilities; HORACE would otherwise be guilty of a contradiction.

SUIDAS relates a story of an impudent piece of flattery played off by JORTIUS, an importunate fellow, who, no doubt, pushed himself in at this minister's table. The ancients used tables of different shapes and forms, either long, round, or semicircular. The round table was most in vogue, either that they thought this form the most perfect of any, or because it made all places alike without any distinction among the guests. MÆCENAS having, contrary to his custom, ordered one of an angular make, which for grandeur as well as costliness was equal to any others he was possessed of, the company could not but admire it, and many smart and witty things were said upon that occasion. JORTIUS, at a loss to acquit himself, said, "Gentlemen, you do not observe one thing, that this table is a perfect circle:" ἐκεῖνο ᾧ ἐκ ἐνοεῖτε, ὡ φίλοι συμπόται, ὡς τετραγύλη ἐστὶν ἢ τράπεζα, ἢ ἄγαν περιφερής. SUID. dict. Artic. Jōrtios.

even a crime in MÆCENAS, to be fond of life (x); this, I think, is very natural to all men, and to those especially, who have a true relish for it, and who in this great scene of life, can act their parts as well as MÆCENAS did.

BUT he is branded with other faults of a more serious nature. He is accused, as we have already observed, of an unbridled passion for the ladies; he was not however confined to these sort of gallantries only, for, if we may credit TACITUS, he had quite a different and more detestable inclination (y). The corrupted morals of the age he lived in, supported by the example of the Pagan deities, can no ways justify him in this particular. As to effeminacy with which he is so greatly charged, he never sunk into it so far, says VELLEIUS, as to forget his duty. His actions are a confirmation of his vigilance; he never slept, when business demanded his atten-

(x) IT did not become SENECA to blame MÆCENAS for being sumptuous, and fond of life. This philosopher's house, who was the richest man of the whole Roman empire, was most magnificently furnished; it contained above three hundred three-footed tables made of cedar, on which he was used to eat.

(y) TACITUS, in his first book of *Annals*, c. liv. speaks of an unnatural passion which MÆCENAS indulged: *Ludos Augustales tunc primum cœpta turbavit discordia, ex certamine histrionum. Indulserat ei ludicro Augustus, dum Mæcenati obtemperat effuso in amorem Bathylli*: Which is the more unlikely, as SE-

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tion (2). Ever active and discerning, he very judiciously foresaw, and knew how to conduct himself in affairs of the greatest moment: He took an uncommon satisfaction in embracing every opportunity that tended to the public welfare, or the interest of his friends. He was *an upright, a just, a constant, and a faithful friend; a discreet, disinterested, a good natured, humane, a generous, modest, a learned, an eloquent, and a witty man*. We have now nothing more to add to compleat his picture, but his veneration for the *Gods*. The advice he gave his prince, and which history has still preserved to us, declares his sentiments on this point. He exhorts AUGUSTUS to reverence the *Gods*, according to the then established form; to oblige the people to a strict observance of the same; never to tolerate impostors, and the enemies of religion; and farther added, “that we can do nothing great and good, “if we despise the *Gods*.”

NECA, who was a most rigid observer and severe censor of MÆCENAS's conduct never so much as mentions this unhappy failing.

(2) CORNELIUS NEPOS and PLUTARCH, in the life of ALCIBIADES, have given us the example of an illustrious *Athenian*, whereby it is plain that luxury and effeminacy are not incompatible with activity and bravery. Vir, says VELLEIUS, speaking of MÆCENAS, *ut res vigiliam exigeret, sane exsomnis, providens atque agendi sciens; simul vero aliquid ex negotio remitti posset, otio ac mollitiis pene ultra foeminam fluens*.

The Life of MÆCENAS.

SUCH was the illustrious MÆCENAS: In him many beautiful qualities are intermingled with a few faults; but who can say, he is without them? Those who have least, have still a title to our indulgence; on account of the shining virtues and predominant qualities, which necessarily engage the love and universal esteem of mankind. It is in this light we must place MÆCENAS. His name is become a glorious title; the greatest protectors of learning have been proud of it; nor is it the least part of their glory, that they were thus distinguished by the public approbation. But how often has this title been misapplied? A mean, servile interest has often bestowed it on men, who had vanity to desire it, though they rendered themselves ridiculous in a character they so little deserved. MÆCENAS is immortal. He protected learning, that fountain of all arts and sciences, and ornament of all polite nations — His name will live amongst men, as long as those sciences of which he was the NOBLE and GENEROUS PROTECTOR.

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